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Miners and Musicians: Rethinking Company Towns though the Butte Mines Band, 1887-1953

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Miners and Musicians: Rethinking Company Towns though the Butte Mines Band, 1887-1953

by

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The Salish people also lived near what is now Butte before their forced removal by the United States. I also acknowledge the Shoshone-Bannock tribes, who the United States forcibly removed from the area around what is now Butte to the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho.

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Abstract

Miners and Musicians: Rethinking Company Towns though the Butte Mines Band, 1887-1953

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This masters' report argues that the role of the Butte Mines Band in its community, from funerals to celebrations of life for miners and their families, shows how life in Butte, Montana outside of mining was mediated by copper mining interests, but that the city was not a company town. This is primarily evident from financial support of the Band by Butte's copper companies, but it is also part of a more complex story of corporate influence, unionism, and environment. Using a socio-environmental lens to look at how environment and human interaction work in concert to create social and cultural structures, norms, and behaviors, this study reconsiders the meaning of the phrase "company town," and considers a scope of "studyscapes" to analyze sensory knowledge of Butte. These include landscape, workscape, soundscape, playscape, and deathscape. The Mines Band offers a confluence of these culturescapes that reveals a complicated web of influence on local culture.

This report primarily uses archival research from the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives in Butte, Montana. It builds on the historiography of mining, labor, recreation, unionism, and environment in the U.S. West. It also uses interdisciplinary methods by borrowing from ethnographic social sciences to consider walking as valuable historical method for place-based study. This is done in concert with studying sensory history. While historical sound and smell cannot be determined by present qualitative evaluations, the historian can revisit place to better consider the context for how sensory consumption may have changed over time.

Chapter One details the extant scholarship on Butte and introduces readers to the theoretical frameworks for studying the Mines Band in a socio-environmental context. It outlines the problems with considering Butte a company town while offering a means to understand the complex corporate-cultural relationship in the city. Chapter Two focuses on Butte's urban development and cultural makeup, outlining the several sensory landscapes of life in Butte, including soundscape, smellscape, playscape, and deathscape. Chapter Three details homes in on the Butte Mines Band and examines its role in the city, connecting place, mining, and death to cultural customs.

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Introduction

When Butte socialite Jessie Wharton died in an auto accident on Christmas Day, 1917, newspapers from across the state of reported the tragedy to their readers. Wharton, 30, and her steady date, Fred Green, 43, both died shortly after a Northern Pacific train collided with Green's car. Green was a respected mining engineer with the Elm Orlu Mining company of Butte. His funeral was a small affair with a cousin from Seattle and his parents from New York. But Jessie's funeral was a community occasion for the city of Butte. The *Anaconda Standard* lamented that Jessie's death was one felt "as keenly by most of the community as the death of a near relative would be."[1]

Jessie was the eldest daughter of Butte Electric Railway Company manager Jesse Rankin Wharton and his wife Elizabeth.[2] As manager of Butte Electric Railway, J.R. Wharton was also business associate of copper king William Andrews Clark and manager

[1] "Jesse Wharton," Find A Grave, accessed October 21, 2020, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/155733013/jesse-wharton; Ancestry.com, "1910 United States Federal Census" (Bureau of the Census, 1910), NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls, National Archives; "Fred Greene, Butte Mining Expert, and Miss Jessie Wharton, Society Belle, Die in Auto," *The Helena Independent Record*, December 26, 1917, Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/helena-independent-record-dec-26-1917-p-1/; "Auto and Train in Fatal Clash," *The Anaconda Standard*, December 26, 1917, Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-dec-26-1917-p-1/; "Miss Whartoh [Sic] Funeral to Be Held This Afternoon," *The Anaconda Standard*, December 27, 1917, Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-dec-27-1917-p-3/; "Fond Tribute to Loved Young Girl," *The Butte Daily Post*, December 27, 1917, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-post-dec-27-1917-p-10/; "F. Greene Funeral to Be Held Sunday," *The Anaconda Standard*, December 29, 1917, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-dec-29-1917-p-7/.

[2] Ancestry.com, "1910 United States Federal Census"; "Fred Greene, Butte Mining Expert, and Miss Jessie Wharton, Society Belle, Die in Auto"; "Miss Whartoh [Sic] Funeral to Be Held This Afternoon"; "Brief Funeral Services Held for Miss Wharton," *The Anaconda Standard*, December 28, 1917, Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-dec-28-1917-p-5/.

of Clark's Columbia Gardens amusement park, and thus a prominent man of Butte.[3] His daughter was involved in several of Butte's societies for ladies, including the Butte Dramatic Society and the Red Cross.[4] In short, she was a public figure, already well known to readers for her volunteer work and status as daughter of a key member of Butte's business community. Her funeral, unlike Greens', was a city-wide event. Street cars halted in her honor at 2 p.m. on December 27th as her funeral began.[5] The *Butte Daily Post* claimed, "Practically Entire City Sorrows at Funeral of Miss Wharton" and that over 80 automobiles joined the procession from the Whartons' home to Mount Moriah Cemetery. The paper noted "not a walk of life or an organization in Butte that was not represented."[6] The Whartons' only request was that Jessie's casket have a solitary bouquet of red carnations from Columbia Gardens, her favorite flowers from the beloved Butte park.[7]

Condolences and flowers sent to the Whartons regardless of their request for no gifts reflect both the connectedness of the community and the importance of the Whartons to it. The Butte Chamber of Commerce created a committee to issue

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[3] "Extending Its Lines," *The Anaconda Standard*, April 6, 1899, Thursday Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-apr-06-1899-p-11/; "In a Brand New Dress," *The Anaconda Standard*, June 4, 1899, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-jun-04-1899-p-12/; Ancestry.com, "1910 United States Federal Census"; "Fred Greene, Butte Mining Expert, and Miss Jessie Wharton, Society Belle, Die in Auto"; "Brief Funeral Services Held for Miss Wharton"; "Brief Funeral Services Held for Miss Wharton."

[4] "Fred Greene, Butte Mining Expert, and Miss Jessie Wharton, Society Belle, Die in Auto."

[5] "Miss Whartoh [Sic] Funeral to Be Held This Afternoon"; "Brief Funeral Services Held for Miss Wharton"; "Fond Tribute to Loved Young Girl."

[6] "Fond Tribute to Loved Young Girl."

[7] "Jesse Wharton"; "Fred Greene, Butte Mining Expert, and Miss Jessie Wharton, Society Belle, Die in Auto"; "Auto and Train in Fatal Clash"; "Miss Whartoh [Sic] Funeral to Be Held This Afternoon"; "Fond Tribute to Loved Young Girl."

resolutions of sympathy to the Whartons.[8] The Butte Newsboys Club delayed their annual banquet, an occasion sponsored by the Wharton family, and they published a statement of their sympathy in the *Anaconda Standard*.[9] The Anaconda Copper Mines Band also sent their condolences to the Whartons, though they did so through private correspondence. The Anaconda Copper Mines Band received a letter from J.R. Wharton on January 7, 1918 thanking the musicians for their expressions of sympathy to the Wharton Family.[10] The Band frequently worked with Wharton to schedule engagements at Columbia Gardens and to settle the organization's account with the streetcar company but since Jessie's funeral was a solemn affair, they did not perform at the event.[11]

On the surface, the Band's expression of sympathy may seem unexceptional, but in truth the Mines Band was central to celebrations of life and death in Butte. It is surprising that the Band did not play Miss Wharton's funeral, as the ensemble otherwise played at well-attended funerals Butte. The Mines Band often played funeral processions or sent sympathies with accompanying flowers on behalf of their membership upon the deaths of men and women of Butte who had a connection to the ensemble. The Band sent

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[8] "Chamber of Commerce Directors Nominated," *The Anaconda Standard*, December 29, 1917, Saturday Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-dec-29-1917-p-9/.

[9] "Banquet Is Postponed," *The Anaconda Standard*, December 26, 1917, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-dec-26-1917-p-3/; "Newsboys Draft Resolutions on Death of Jessie Wharton," *The Anaconda Standard*, January 4, 1918, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-jan-04-1918-p-7/.

[10] J.R. Wharton, "To Elmer Young, Wm. Fuge, Ben Ivey, A.J. Castle, Committee Anaconda Copper Mines Band," January 7, 1918, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[11] The Mines Band played at Columbia Gardens for over 60 years. Arrangements with Wharton are reflected in Treasurer's Records, Secretary's Records (Attendance), Band Meeting Minute Records, and Correspondence files, all in the Samuel Treloar Collection at the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives. These records are discussed in further detail in following chapters.

condolences to the Whartons according to J.R.'s letter, but disbursement records from 1917 and 1918 do not reflect any purchase of flowers for the Whartons. This suggests the Band followed the family's wishes that the bouquet of red carnations from Columbia Gardens remain the only arrangement at Jessie's Funeral.

Jessie Wharton's funeral shows us that Butte was a tight-knit community centered on mining. It was made up of men and women, workers, families, and societies, defined by Montana and the mining West, by old world traditions, and in an attempt to survive and enjoy life in a remote industrial city. Jessie Wharton's funeral brought these people and tensions together. A closer look at the Mines Band further informs understanding of the make-up of Butte, from community celebrations and organizations to the soundscape of the city. The Mines Band was a pride of the city, nationally known, and associated from its beginnings in the 1880s with the Columbia Gardens. The Gardens hold an extraordinary place in public memory in Butte, in part as an escape from the mining industry but also as a stark reminder of what the city lost to the copper companies.

If Columbia Gardens symbolized the Mining City, so, too, did the Mines Band, a professional, community-oriented and unionized organization funded by copper mining companies for the benefit of the community. Samuel Henry Treloar and fellow musicians founded the Meaderville Band, in 1887.[12] Meaderville was overwhelmingly influenced

[12] "Butte's Famous Mines Band Making Preparations To Observe Forty-First Anniversary of Birth," *The Montana Standard*, September 30, 1928, Sunday Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-montana-standard-sep-30-1928-p-23/; "Sam Treloar Organized Famous B and M Band Here in 1887," *A.C.M. Club News*, January 14, 1951, Vol. 4, No. 42 edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-montana-standard-jan-14-1951-p-28/; David Reynolds, "Samuel Henry Treloar and the Butte Mines Band," *Journal of Band Research* 42, no. 2 (2007): 71–81.

by the Boston & Montana Mining Company holdings in the neighborhood, so in 1891 the band name changed to the Boston and Montana Band, or B&M for short.[13] By then, Treloar had also established the Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union.[14] The Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM Co.) purchased the Boston & Montana Company in 1905, though records indicate the Band continued playing as the B&M Band until 1916.[15] The Band was then known as the Anaconda Copper Mines Band for four years.[16] In 1920, the ensemble redubbed itself the Butte Mines Band, resembling the former B&M Band title and appeasing boosters upset that the Anaconda title confused some into thinking the band was not from Butte.[17] The Butte Mines Band folded in the mid 1950s, following the death of Treloar, the Band's longtime director.[18]

The Band's role in the city–acting as soundtrack and cheerleader for mining interests, union efforts, local pride, and boosterism–offers a detailed window into Butte's sociocultural tapestry, both harmonious and cacophonous. Examining the Mines Band within the context of the Columbia Gardens and the Anaconda Company offers deeper understandings of what life, work, play, and death meant in the mining city. Intimate

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[13] While record of the date of name change is yet uncovered, the band journals dating to 1888 reflect a change from Meaderville Band to Boston & Montana Band somewhere around the end of 1892 or beginning of 1893. However, an earlier receipt from the Band Hall's janitress, Mrs. Griffith, addresses the Band as B&M Band in November 1891. Receipt for housekeeping from Mrs. Griffith, November 3, 1891, Correspondence, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Archives.

[14] American Federation of Musicians Local 241, Archive Record, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, https://buttearchives.pastperfectonline.com/archive/D20E9CC7-B450-4E3E-96C2-469441894034.

[15] Montana Department of Environmental Quality, "Historic Context Aka Summit Valley, Lost Child, Independence, Rocker, Browns Gulch," State of Montana, accessed July 1, 2020, https://deq.mt.gov/Land/AbandonedMines/linkdocs/183tech.

[16] "Butte's Famous Mines Band Making Preparations To Observe Forty-First Anniversary of Birth."

[17] "Butte's Famous Mines Band Making Preparations To Observe Forty-First Anniversary of Birth."

[18] "Butte Mines Band Records, 1913-1954," Reference, Archives West, accessed July 31, 2020, http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv04459.

connections between union membership, mining employment, and band participation show the entrenched power of copper and the persistence of unionism across Butte. Mining as the basis for Butte's identity raises questions about the nature of company towns, that is the totalized control seized by companies over their employees' lives by planning and overseeing communities reserved for workers in a single industry.[19] Butte does not fit this definition, but its complex identity centered on mining, unionism, and place provides nuance and intricacy to considerations of corporate control and community formation.

This masters' report argues that the Mines Band's role in Butte, from funerals to celebrations of life for miners and their families, shows how life outside of mining was mediated by copper mining interests, but that Butte was not a company town. This study intervenes in scholarship on Butte's local history, but also in the history of mining and culture in the American West. It brings together the histories of the extractive resource industry and cultural organizations. The Butte Mines Band is one example within my broader scholarship of how mining companies financed leisure activities. The most important aspect of drawing together the history of mining and of recreation in the American West is an interrogation of the understanding of company towns. Butte complicates any suggestion it became a company town, which is a contradiction since

[19] Keith Peterson, *Company Town: Potlatch, Idaho and the Potlatch Lumber Company*, ebook (Pullman, WA and Moscow, ID: Washington State University Press and Idaho Historical Society, 1987), http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=21730&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_COVER; William Philpott, "The Lessons of Leadville, or, Why the Western Federation of Miners Turned Left" (Colorado Historical Society, 1995), HaithiTrust, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x006040734; Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2008).

company towns are constructed rather than part of an evolution.[20] Butte was never wholly owned by any company. However, Butte was a city totalized by its dominant industry, with social, cultural, and environmental consequences resulting from its mining.

This report offers another significant contribution to mining history by placing it within the context of environmental history and using a socio-environmental approach to the study of mining communities. Studying Butte's culture, geospatial setting, industrial and natural environment, and its relationship to capital are ways that we can see the tensions and complexities within the community. Considering institutions such as the Mines Band as part of its surroundings within an analysis on community, environment, land, sound, work, and the larger "culture-scape" uncovers new perspectives on company power, worker solidarity, cultural practice, place and local identity.

Finally, this report uses spatial history and sensory history methods. Though our understanding of the senses changes with context and time, sensory history offers a means to reimagine the world as people walked, smelled, heard, and felt it in the past,

[20] Historian Keith Peterson aptly called Potlatch, Idaho a "company-owned town," because the Potlatch Lumber Company bought, planned, and developed the land specifically for a town where the Potlatch Company could control the environment and oversee employees. He also uses "company town" interchangeably with "company-owned town," demarking the two as synonymous. Margaret Crawford interrogates the definition of the company town as it changed over time, with what we conventionally refer to as the company town categorized as the "new company town," or the company town as it emerged in the early twentieth century (1913-1925). Crawford also notes the difference between an industry town, where work revolves around one industry but development is driven by private interests not in that main industry, and a company town, where development is controlled by the industry through the one company in, or controlling, the town. Butte is somewhere between an industry town and a company town, in Crawford's definitions, because it was dominated by a single industry that came to be represented by a single company, and that company owned and controlled a great deal of land with significant political influence, but was also developed through private interests, and without company ownership of employee homes. Peterson, *Company Town: Potlatch, Idaho and the Potlatch Lumber Company*; Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (London and New York: Verso, 1995), https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015037255471&view=1up&seq=1.

deepening our understanding of place and environment.[21] Using spatial history as a framework calls attention to the physical areas people traversed and the meanings endowed on those areas that made them cultural places.[22] These frameworks establish the basis for studying the socio-environment, or the culture and environment as influenced by one another, in the context of studyscapes, or landscapes that offer lenses into the socio-environment around different categories of spatial, sensory, and cultural practices. These studyscapes take the form of physical landscape, soundscape, playscape or leisurescape, workscape, and deathscape. Approaching place, sound, life, and death in Butte's history with studyscapes situates the Band in time, space, and aural surroundings. It also allows for greater interdisciplinarity in studying the Mines Band by borrowing from literature, anthropology, and geology. The contrast between the sounds of underground hard rock mining and a professional brass band in public gardens or en route to a cemetery is one marker of the dynamic and drastic extremes of life in Butte.

This master's report unfolds in three chapters. Chapter One details the extant scholarship on Butte and introduces readers to the theoretical frameworks for studying the Mines Band in a socio-environmental context. It outlines the problems with considering Butte a company town while offering a means to understand the complex corporate-cultural relationship in the city. Chapter Two focuses on Butte's urban

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[21] Mark M. Smith, "Producing Sense, Consuming Sense, Making Sense: Perils and Prospects for Sensory History," *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 4 (July 1, 2007): 841–58, http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hft&AN=509847858&site=ehost-live; Adam Mack, *Sensing Chicago: Noisemakers, Strikebreakers, and Muckrakers* (Urbana, IL, Chicago, IL, Springfield, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

[22] Richard White, "What Is Spatial History?" (Stanford University Spatial History Project, February 1, 2010), https://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=29.

development and cultural makeup, outlining the several sensory landscapes of life in Butte, including soundscape, smellscape, playscape, and deathscape. Chapter Three homes in on the Butte Mines Band and examines its role in the city, connecting place, mining, and death to cultural customs.

Chapter One: Literature and Methods

This report aims to reach beyond a simplistic understanding of company towns to consider the social and cultural history of Butte. This is done by considering "studyscapes" as sites of environmental and cultural character.[23] Using a community organization (the Butte Mines Band), a community place (the Columbia Gardens), and community events, particularly funerals, as in the opening story about Jessie Wharton, this study challenges ideas about corporate power in local culture of cities dominated by a single industry or single company. I interrogate the spectrum between company towns and union towns to characterize Butte's identity. Company towns can exist without unions, and might ensure their prohibition, and the ideal of a union town might include a community of organized workers without a company. But, like Butte, most industrial or company or union towns had a balance of power between competition, corporate power, and collective bargaining. Using "studyscapes"–meaning lenses for examining places and practices such as landscapes, workscapes, soundscapes, playscapes, and deathscapes–demands socio-environmental analysis to understand people and their relationship to the socio-environment where they live out their lives. The places and spaces in this broader, city-wide culturescape were shaped by the mining industry at large, by the Anaconda

[23] My use of this term is based on Brian Leech's reading of the Butte workscape, which is informed by Thomas Andrews' use of the term, which considers the physical, managerial, and cultural backdrop of the mining workplace. I apply the -scape idea, or socio-environment around cultural practices (work, play, sound, death), to approach the interworking community meaning-making around people, place, and practice in the various studyscapes. Brian James Leech, *The City That Ate Itself: Butte, Montana and Its Expanding Berkeley Pit* (Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2018); Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*.

Company as a dominant corporate power, and by unionism in Butte stretching back to the creation of the Butte Miners' Union and Local #1 of the Western Federation of Miners.

The centrality of how humans used the land to work and spend their leisure time and how those activities shaped their lives and deaths can tell us much about community formation. Thinking about all of these activities though factors like sight and sound can help us *see* and *hea*r historical patterns as key environmental events that shaped local history. A socio-environmental profile of Butte illuminates the cultural importance of the Columbia Gardens and the Butte Mines Band because detailing the complexities of place, place-making, and people uncovers meanings shared by seemingly separate spheres of life. In other words, studying space, sound, sight, and smell in historical perspective shows what it was like to live in turn-of-the-century Butte and how people found and expressed meanings through their actions. This is not a departure from understanding natural environment in opposition to human-created structures and industry, but rather helps us blend human and nonhuman environments in order to understand daily life in Butte and to better comprehend how the life and death wrought by technology in Butte deeply contoured the physical landscape of the city as well as the emotional legacies of human and environmental survival.

WALKING AS HISTORICAL METHOD

Working within these contexts challenges certain approaches to the historical record. While archival documents may offer a great deal of information on sight, sound, smell, and behavior, this work endeavors to use physical space to study local history.

Using ethnographically minded spatial history creatively but knowledgably fills in archival gaps when considering studyscapes of Butte. In this instance I look to walking as an embodied historical method. Walking allows for a retracing of the past, a grounding in the present, and a meditation on the echoes of past paths through historical places. This approach is not novel to writing methods, particularly in creative and innovative fields.[24]

One of Butte's most famous walking enthusiasts and authors was Mary MacLane. At nineteen, she published *The Story of Mary MacLane*, a confessional diary that shocked and dismayed audiences with its egoism and sexual detail. In *The Story of Mary*

[24] Walking as ethnographic method is far from revolutionary in the social sciences and is used as a means to connect with interview subjects through comfortable and generative movement and discussion. Walking can be a form of meditation or an exercise in creative motivation and conception in creative writing: my studies in meditation and creative fiction and nonfiction writing included walking assignments. It is not uncommon in the lexicon to find writers who found walking valuable, if not critical to their methods, including Henry David Thoreau, Virginia Woolf, Franz Kafka, among many. Walking was also vital to such Western and environmental icons as Wallace Stegner and John Muir, for whom walking was a form of environmental engagement. The importance of walking to studying the past in my own work is undeniably influenced by walking with my mother at dig sites she excavated in Montana and British Columbia as an archaeologist. Walking has not clearly entered the pedagogy and methods of history departments, however with the turn to public history perhaps it should. The thought that history is done only in an archive and only for a lecture hall is more impossible and irrelevant by the hour. For those who are able, and those who seek to engage the public with their work, historians might make every effort to get to know the places they study, or the places where the people they studied made decisions and lived. If ours is the profession that offers context for the present world, we ought to concern ourselves with the physicality of context and the human experience of navigating a body and a mind on the Earth. Duncan Minshull, ed., *Beneath My Feet: Writers on Walking* (London: Notting Hill Editions, 2019); Katie Moles, "Ethnographic Interviews: Walking as Method," in *SAGE Research Methods Datasets Part 1*, 2018, https://dx-doi-org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/10.4135/9781526440914; Evrick Brown and Timothy Shortell, eds., *Walking in Cities: Quotidian Mobility as Urban Theory, Method, and Practice*, Urban Life, Landscape, and Policy (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2016), https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/lib/utxa/reader.action?docID=4312691; John Muir, *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), https://archive.org/details/cu31924028782633; Ann-Charlotte Palmgren, "Standing Still: Walking Interviews and Poetic Spatial Inquiry," *Area* 50, no. 3 (2018): 372–83, https://rgs-ibg.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/area.12410.

MacLane, the young author describes her writing methods amidst what she saw as the drudgery of Butte, Montana in 1901. MacLane wrote and walked every day, "far away in the open country." She wrote, "I have reached some astonishing subtleties of conception as I have walked for miles over the sand and barrenness among the little hills and gulches. Their utter desolateness is an inspiration to the long, long thoughts and to the nameless wanting. Every day I walk over the sand and barrenness."[25] Her writing provides an evocative studyscape for readers over a century later.

Figure 1 Mary MacLane in 1918, Bane News Service, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2014707018/.

A self-declared philosopher, MacLane's walks were a point of intellectual genesis for a mind and spirit shaped by Butte. She reflected,

> hour after hour I walk over the desolate sand and dreariness among tiny hills and gulches on the outskirts of this mining town; in the morning, in the long afternoon, in the cool of the night. And hour after hour, as I walk, through my brain some long, long pageants march: the pageant of my fancies, the pageant of my unparalleled egotism, the pageant of my unhappiness, the pageant of my minute analyzing, the pageant of my peculiar philosophy, the pageant of my dull, dull life, – and the pageant of the Possibilities.[26]

The *New York Times* ridiculed MacLane's first book.[27] The *Times* suggested MacLane had nothing to offer and should have stayed in Butte (she had since moved on to

[25] Mary MacLane, *Tender Darkness: A Mary MacLane Anthology*, ed. Elisabeth Pruitt (Belmont, CA: Abernathy & Brown, 1993), 16.

[26] MacLane, 18.

[27] John Paul, "Recent Fiction: A Young Messalina Out of the West?," *The New York Times*, May 10, 1902, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times, http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/96184657?accountid=7118.

Chicago). Reading MacLane as a feminist scholar of history, there is an opportunity to consider her as an intellectual and learn from her writing and interpretive methods, as well as her sense of the social and physical landscape–the studyscapes–of Butte.[28]

Like MacLane, my research relies on walking as method to understand Butte, with an awareness of those who walked Butte before me. Funded by the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives Carrie Johnson Fellowship, my mornings and evenings before and after archival research included exploration of Butte by foot.[29] In seeking to create innovative feminist historical methods, this study relies on walking as method for historically empathetic sensory understanding. Centering on historical environment and landscapes requires attention to the archival record in search of sound, sight, and smell. These senses cannot be fully recaptured. However, when one walks through Butte in 2020 one becomes aware of the consistent breeze that pushes through Butte, hears dogs yowl and heavy machinery whirr, and sees once grand houses deteriorate while small workers' cottages remain inhabited. Studies of spatial history are best conducted by gaining access to the spaces in question when and as is possible.

This work is feminist in uplifting Butte women's intellectual history through MacLane, and in also rejecting hegemonically masculine understandings of empirical

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[28] Kathryne Beth Tovo, "'The Unparalleled Individuality of Me': The Story of Mary MacLane" (Austin, TX, University of Texas at Austin, 2000), ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/304621806?accountid=7118; Cathryn Luanne Halverson, "Autobiography, Genius, and the American West: The Story of Mary MacLane and Opal Whiteley" (Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan, 1997), ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/304378619/4E31BD03F9DF4541PQ/1?accountid=7118.

[29] This process included taking photographs and journaling to record walking excursions. Driving was also a part of this process, though primarily only for moving between locales to walk and observe.

historical methods that do not account for emotional knowledge of place and people past. Admittedly, there is a danger in becoming presentist and essentialist in one's understanding of the past by inserting oneself so emotionally into the archive. However, denying the human–at times emotional–from the scholarly is a historiographical and methodological blunder.

Figure 2 View of the Kelley Mine and Butte from Foreman's Park, June 2020, photo by Gwendolyn Lockman.

REDEFINING ENVIRONMENT AND THINKING THROUGH STUDYSCAPES

William Cronon delineates pre-human "original" nature as "first nature," and human created or artificial nature as "second nature," in his field-defining *Nature's*

Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West. [30] That is, conceptualizing nature as only the purely untouched wilderness (first nature) denies that humans and nature interact, or that humans are a part of nature as well as actors upon it (second nature). Timothy LeCain builds upon Cronon's idea of first and second nature in arguing nature and technology shape one another in ways beyond this dyad. In his book *Mass Destruction: The Men and Giant Mines That Wired America and Scarred the Planet,* LeCain encourages scholars to consider a definition of nature that includes humans and their technologies.[31] For LeCain, mass production seemingly separates humans and their inventions from nature, yet humans rely on natural resources to create technology. Technology then reshapes human life to the point that people make no connection between manufactured products and the resources required to create them. He argues that this detachment from natural environment, extraction, and human labor sullies our ideas about nature to suggest that nature is only that which is untouched by humans. LeCain's framework reinforces Cronon's ideas that humans develop technology using, and based on Cronon's first nature, but rather than conceptualizing layers of "natures" (first and second) LeCain offers us a way to understand a more cyclical, reactive, intertwined relationship between technology and nature.

Brian Leech's history of the Berkeley Pit, *The City that Ate Itself: Butte, Montana and Its Expanding Berkeley Pit*, contributes to the framing of local and environmental

[30] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), xvii.

[31] Timothy J. LeCain, *Mass Destruction: The Men and Giant Mines That Wired America and Scarred the Planet* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 9–10.

Figure 3 The Berkeley Pit, now filled with water and toxic chemicals, June 2020, photo by Gwendolyn Lockman.

history in this report. Leech details the history of underground mining and the importance of community in early settled ethnic neighborhoods in Butte, as well as unionism and protest among miners and the community. He describes work in the pit, the hazards associated with working in and living near the mine, and the resulting acquisitions required of the Anaconda Mining Company to grow the Pit and ameliorate its deleterious effects on residents, or at least relocate those individuals in the Pit's dangerous path. Leech also addresses the image of the Pit, a symbol of Butte since the 1980s, in the new environmentalist era and the connotation of the Pit in the Superfund era. Leech argues that the open-pit mining era reorganized space in Butte, from the mining environment to Butte's historical, nationality-based neighborhoods. Open-pit mining forced people to see mining every day in ways that obliterated the division between underground, hard-wrought, independent work and the life above ground. Leech connects the workscape and urban sprawl through how project management functioned in mines. Such managers were tasked with calculating the magnitude of hazards, risk, and

need for relocation (typically of people and their homes rather than relocation of mining).[32]

These observations apply primarily to the years after the Mines Band folded in 1953, which coincided with the post-war shifts that proliferated open-pit mining over underground operations.[33] However, Leech offers an important theoretical approach to work in Butte by reading the Berkeley Pit as a workscape, or a workplace landscape, as theorized by Thomas Andrews.[34] The Pit workscape was a dramatic change from the undergrounding mining workscape, which prevented supervisor surveillance and put far more onus on individual miners.[35] The Pit created a more bureaucratic mining operation where work required less skill and was more closely watched by supervisors.[36] In noting this shift, one can define work in the underground mining era based on its difference from the open-pit mining era. The underground workscape was closed, largely unsupervised, fairly autonomous, and fostered a robust community of independently minded and working miners. They learned to rely on each other, working in pairs, but interactions with bosses were far less frequent than they became in the open-pit era. It is little wonder then that union organizing was more successful when miners were underground, too, with

[32] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*.

[33] The Sam Treloar Collection ends in 1951, with Treloar's death, but newspaper articles in the *Montana Standard* reflect the band continued to play engagements until August 1953, when the Mines Band is mentioned for the last time, playing at Smelterman Day. "Anaconda Is Set to Celebrate Smelterman Day," *The Montana Standard*, August 2, 1953, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-montana-standard-aug-02-1953-p-30/.

[34] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 6.

[35] Leech, 25–30.

[36] Leech, 157–59.

more distance from the watchful eye of bosses (though there were always Pinkertons for hire if the companies needed spies).[37]

Leech's work relies on Thomas Andrews' *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War.*[38] Andrews' book earned praise upon publication for uniting labor history with environmental history at a time when such practice was uncommon.[39] He argued that coal was the dominating social construction agent in South-Central Colorado, but that growth in the name of coal still had to contend with local ecology. Andrews, too, deals with company control and union reaction. However, where Andrews focuses more specifically on a labor dispute, I unite labor and environmental history along with cultural history to examine how environment and culture, or socio-environment, propelled unionism from the mining industry into Butte's culturescape beyond copper.

I build on Leech's examination of mines and Andrews' analysis of mining community and ecology by creating unique lines of inquiry into the several "studyscapes"–soundscape, smellscape, playscape, deathscape–that structured life in Butte. This is further informed by using sensory history. Sensory historian Adam Mack makes the case for understanding history through the senses as a means to add meaning

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[37] Significant analysis of the Pit is beyond the scope of this study, however walking Butte, or driving it, the Pit is almost never out of sight. It also interrupted the map of Butte by eliminating entire neighborhoods (McQueen, Meaderville). The Pit was a workscape, is a landscape, and is a deathscape for the neighborhoods that once thrived where there is now a lake of mining waste.

[38] Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*.

[39] Richard Oestreicher, "Review: Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 294–96, http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hft&AN=510024112&site=ehost-live.

to historical analysis by reading past the limitations of sight or archival documents.[40] In asking what kind of landscapes existed around daily life, play, and death, questions surrounding community behavior also become questions about environmental use, attitudes, and emerging ideology – and how looking at all in relation to each other can help us better understand the social and cultural history of Butte.[41]

Mack is careful to encourage scholars only to use the archival record to draw conclusions about sensory history.[42] Certainly, literature like Brinig's *Wide Open Town*, or in Mack's study, Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* offer examples of sight, smell, and sound, as do journalists in either Butte or Chicago's newspapers. Much is also said by what the archival record notes did not happen. For example, there was no music played in Butte for Jessie Wharton's funeral, despite her status and the large gathering of people who mourned her loss. The absence of sound on such a solemn occasion is evocative because it is unusual: the Mines Band frequently played funerals. This study pushes on warnings by scholars like Adam Mack and Mark Smith, who wrote a valuable state of the field of sensory history.[43] Their caution urges scholars not to fall prey to power structures

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[40] Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 3.

[41] "Studyscapes," is a term I believe to be unused in the context I use here, however it is informed by Leech and Andrews as it relates to Butte and to mining history. Coll Thrush's work on people, place, and meaning, as well as Matthew Klingle's detailing of the "complicated history that places humans and their environment at an impasse," offer similar perspectives of analysis on people, environment, urban development and place making. Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2009), https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/book/10411; Matthew Klingle, *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/lib/utxa/detail.action?docID=3420981&pq-origsite=primo.

[42] Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 4.

[43] Smith outlines the historiography of sensory history and potential lines of future research, warns that careless application of meaning to historically recorded sounds is ahistorical, and looks hopefully to the potential for sensory history to deemphasize visual representation to offer more credibility and

in attempting to make assumptions about universal sensations throughout time.[44] That is, while we might acknowledge that senses are basic to human anatomy and generally universal over time, our evaluations of those sense likely change over time and our present-day understandings of the senses are not necessarily consistent with how people considered their senses in the past.

Indeed, we cannot truly reimagine how people felt in past eras because we do not inhabit the same context. Drawing on contemporary feminist scholars, however, this study retains an awareness that relying totally on the archive only recreates power structures inherent in what evidence is prioritized and by whom it is organized. Marisa J. Fuentes's powerful and evocative book *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* offers several case studies in enslaved women's survival tactics that are represented in the archive as accessory to prioritized white colonial narratives.[45] She challenges the structure of the archive to reimagine histories otherwise ignored or mentioned in passing and undertakes analyses of pain, suffering, and agency. This study takes heed of Mack and Smith's warnings while following Fuentes' example by pushing us to reimagine scenes in Butte without making assumptions of past actors' qualitative

investigation to smell, sound, and touch in the archival record. Most importantly, Smith notes that "sensory production" might be reproduced, for example through a recording or recreation with actors or period instruments, but that "sensory consumption" is "hostage to the context in which it was produced," that is, we cannot recapture sensory consumption because we cannot reproduce the totalized context of time and place for past events. Smith, "Producing Sense, Consuming Sense, Making Sense: Perils and Prospects for Sensory History."

[44] Smith, 843–47.

[45] Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

analyses of their conditions.[46] In this case, the Butte Mines Band offers a way to tug on the thread of feeling, sound, space, and place as mediated by overbearing corporate influence from the Anaconda Company. Though the Anaconda Company controlled the newspapers and funded the band, this study reads stories and records by reading resistance and compliance in between the lines of the Anaconda Company's influence.

The logic of spatial history is also important to thinking about the studyscapes I examine in Butte. Butte is a place defined by its topography, geology, and people.[47] Historic Butte is on "The Hill" where miners retrieved gold, silver, manganese, zinc, but mostly copper from the earth below. While the orientation of the city may have varied slightly, ultimately the growth of an industrialized human population here depended on the deposit of minerals formed there roughly 65 million years ago.[48] While the geologic roots left an indelible mark on Butte's economy, the region's the Indigenous populations

[46] Walking as historical method becomes important here to embody what it means to be in Butte. While Mack and Smith are right to offer their warnings about assumptions about the sensory past, Fuentes offers an awareness of subjectivity of the scholar in the archive that urges analysis of the meaning of research to the researcher and their relationship to the subjects they study in place, time, and archive. In other words, though the scholar might strive to be an objective purveyor of knowledge and only on occasion well-informed speculation, there may be much lost by refusing to imagine we might relate to the humans who preceded us, and the scholar who denies their own subjectivity is naïve. My conceptualization of studyscapes in Butte required learning the streets, walking in the shadows of gallows frames (mine hoists), visiting cemeteries, and finding sites where what I study is now gone. I had to gain a better understanding of the physical city to study and conceptualize spatial history. I cannot know the feeling of walking through Butte with the presence of the Anaconda Company looming, however, I also cannot visit Butte without seeing the Berkeley Pit, the massive physical consequence of the Anaconda Company's pursuit of copper.

[47] This is addressed further in Chapter Two: that people lived and worked on a hill at a time without automobiles or widespread transit other than by foot defined the city layout and the neighborhood cultures that developed. One rediscovers this by walking Butte contemporarily, even if waiting for cars and walking on asphalt and pavement is a departure from the dirt roads, ruts from horse-drawn carts, and wooden sidewalks of turn-of-the-century Butte.

[48] Byron R. Berger, Thomas G. Hildenbrand, and J. Michael O'Neill, "Control of Precambrian Basement Deformation Zones on Emplacement of the Laramide Boulder Batholith and Butte Mining District, Montana, United States," U.S. Geological Survey Scientific Investigations Report 2011-5016 (Reston, Virginia: United States Department of the Interior United States Geological Survey, 2011), https://pubs.usgs.gov/sir/2011/5016/downloads/SIR2011-5016.pdf.

predating European-American settlement have been all but erased from Butte's "official" histories by scholars and citizens alike to a reprehensible degree.[49] Indigenous people from the region, meanwhile, including the Shoshone-Bannock and Salish Kootenai people have kept their own histories intact.[50]

As the U.S. government removed Indigenous people and new migrants moved to the region, space gained further meaning in Butte. The city's population increased, and neighborhood enclaves developed, shaped by both technology and immigration patterns. In other words, people lived and worked close to the mines, and lived and worked alongside their countrymen and -women. The technology used in Butte would also go on to shape technology around the world. The copper mined in Butte would structure electrical systems across the nation and the globe. The dependence on electrical grids and

[49] Despite an enthusiasm for Butte's mining history, many of its sites and interpretive signs do not include any acknowledgement of or information about Indigenous peoples in Butte. Roadside historical markers do not acknowledge Indigenous presence where Butte now stands. The Copper Mountain Recreation Complex includes a timeline of Butte without any Indigenous peoples. The Montana's Copperway denotes only white copper mining. Indigenous people were formally, though not necessarily factually, removed from the area before Butte city was incorporated in the 1870s. I discuss this further in the next chapter. Scholarship specifically on Indigenous peoples in the Deer Lodge Valley is scant, though there are rich examples of Indigenous histories of Montana. Though not specific to the Deer Lodge Valley, one example of recent scholarship on Indigenous ways of knowing and geospatial history in Montana that includes tribes displaced from the Butte area by the U.S. government is: Adam M. Johnson et al., "Indigenous Knowledge and Geoscience on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Northwest Montana: Implications for Place-Based and Culturally Congruent Education," *Journal of Geoscience Education* 62, no. 2 (2014): 187–202, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/10.5408/12-393.1.

[50] In one map, the Butte area appears as common hunting ground, with overlapping use by the Shoshone, Bannock, Pend d'Oreille, and Salish people, who were later removed by the U.S. government to the Shoshone-Bannock Reservation in Idaho and the Flathead Reservation in Montana. Another map denotes Butte as specifically on native land belonging to the Shoshone-Bannock and Salish Kootenai (Flathead) people. I address native land further in the next chapter. Native Land Digital, *Native Land Digital* (Canada: Native Land Digital), accessed November 5, 2020, https://native-land.ca/; University of Montana Regional Learning Project, *Tribal Territories in Montana* (Native Land Digital, 2005), https://native-land.ca/maps/territories/salish-kootenai-flathead/; "Treaty with the Flatheads, Etc., 1855," 12 Stats. § 975 (1859), https://www.fws.gov/pacific/ea/tribal/treaties/flatheads_1855.pdf; "TREATY WITH THE EASTERN BAND SHOSHONI AND BANNOCK, 1868," 15 Stat. § 673 (1869), http://www2.sbtribes.com/fort-bridger-treaty/.

the strengths and limitations of copper as a conductor in turn shaped how an increasingly electrical America grew across landscapes and localities. Every person who lived in Butte from the 1860s to the present has been influenced and shaped by geological, technological, ecological, and human factors. Corporate interest, machine power, and manpower changed Butte's topography through underground and open-pit mining, creating what would become the nation's largest Superfund site.[51]

The exploitative business of resource extraction also shaped human organization and interaction. Unionism required the organization of humans into a kind of apparatus that could forge a community to tend to workers' interests in the face of merciless capital. It evolved in Butte because the city's commercial and social environment was inseparable from the labor-intensive extractive resource industry. To extend LeCain's approach to environment and human technology, I argue that human social structure is also dependent on physical place and environment.

Butte's priorities for urban development and community identity indicate this confluence of people, place, and environment. The community and mining companies shared such totalizing relationships that human social organization cannot be separated

[51] United States Environmental Protection Agency, "Superfund Site: Silver Bow Creek/Butte Area Butte, MT," accessed November 13, 2020, https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/cursites/csitinfo.cfm?id=0800416; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 332; Kathleen McLaughlin, "A Once-Powerful Montana Mining Town Warily Awaits Final Cleanup of Its Toxic Past," *The Washington Post*, February 10, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/a-once-powerful-montana-mining-town-warily-awaits-final-cleanup-of-its-toxic-past/2020/02/09/514c4220-4943-11ea-bdbf-1dfb23249293_story.html.; informed by Episodes 9-13 of K. Ross Toole's lectures in Montana History, respectively "That Precious Metal Copper," "The International Copper Cartel," "The War of the Copper Kings," "The Battle Escalates," and "The Amalgamated Copper Trust." K. Ross Toole's Montana, *Montanans for Quality Television (MQTV)*, 1985, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Archives and Special Collections at the University of Montana, https://scholarworks.umt.edu/toolesmontana/.

from the extractive resource that led to the growth of a population in Butte. As LeCain argues, the idea that "human beings and their technologies could ever be separated from the natural world," leads to environmental destruction.[52] I add that this thinking leads to historical misunderstanding as well.

THE SEVERAL STUDYSCAPES OF BUTTE

Studyscape is a term that I apply conceptually to examine environment in a way that includes sight, sound, smell, work, and human relationships. There is an acute awareness to spatiality in using landscape as a framework for analysis. Richard White wrote, "space is itself historical."[53] White identifies how humans produce space and how this changes overtime. His brief overview of spatial history for the Stanford University Spatial History Project theorizes the field as it relates to Geospatial Information Systems (GIS). White's call for more histories deeply engaged with spatiality and human movement resonate even without engaging specifically in GIS or GIS methods. This call translates to an awareness of historical documents, their authors, and their actions in space as well as time, creating a multidimensional landscape of place, action, and context.

The historic character of space in Butte is undeniable when walking its streets. Butte is federally categorized as historical by the Department of the Interior as a National Historic Landmark District. Walkerville and Anaconda are included in this district. Buildings boast construction dates from the 1890s and early 1900s in their masonry or are

[52] LeCain, *Mass Destruction*, 20.
[53] White, "What Is Spatial History?," 2.

otherwise explained on National Register of Historic Places plaques. But beyond legal categories as "historical," Butte is a space informed by and resting upon its history, quite literally thanks to the thousands of miles of tunnels beneath the city and the social organization of the city that generations of former residents created.

Butte also retains a sense of its historical space based on what it lost, beyond the copper itself, when the mines closed. Columbia Gardens, a playscape, is the best example of this. The Anaconda Company closed the Columbia Gardens permanently after Labor Day 1973. The Company closed the park because of operating costs and also out of interest in expanding the Continental Pit Mine, which it also owned, onto the grounds of the Gardens. The park burned to the ground two months later, on November 12, 1973. Police officially deemed the blaze an electrical fire, but some claim the Anaconda Company set the fire. The community did not forget Columbia Gardens when the actual place was no longer there.[54]

While it was certainly important when it still stood, the Columbia Gardens' also imbued symbolic meaning to Butte with the sense that a beloved place was taken from the city. As a "playscape" it was a place of leisure and recreation throughout peoples' lives, from childhood to high school proms to family gatherings.[55] But as a lost space it

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[54] Frank Quinn, *Memories of Columbia Gardens* (Butte, MT: Quinn and Associates, Inc., 1973; Pat Kearney, *Butte's Pride – the Columbia Gardens* (Skyhigh Communications, 1994); Montana PBS, *Remembering the Columbia Gardens* (2004), https://www.montanapbs.org/programs/RememberingTheColumbiaGardens/.

[55] Twentieth-century ideas of leisure emerged largely in the context of burgeoning and evolving tourism. Though Butte was not necessarily a tourist attraction, and Columbia Gardens was typically framed by its owners, William Andrews Clark and then the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, as a facility for Butte, ideas and expectations around tourism, leisure, and vice such as those developed by Dona Brown and Hal Rothman offer context for my ideas of leisurescapes. Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 6; Hal

went from a playscape to a deathscape–not for human life, but for a community place with meaningful connections to Butte's identity that the city mourned. The effect of this loss due to fire means its place among Butte's tragedies characterizes its memory and importance. This would be very different if the Gardens had simply deteriorated over time or had been abandoned. The uncertain nature of this loss, however, leaves room for Butte residents' skepticism of the Company to fill in the missing pieces and further antagonize a tense relationship between industry and townspeople. The fire that burned down Columbia Gardens was officially deemed an accidental electrical fire. However, a Montana Public Broadcasting Service documentary titled *Remembering the Columbia Gardens* included recorded interviews with Butte residents who were divided on whether the official report was correct. Certain Butte residents expressed their skepticism at the official report and instead suggested the Anaconda Company set fire to the park out of self-interest–to more quickly expand the Continental Pit mine and to avoid dealing with the remnants of the park, including the bi-plane and carousel rides. The belief that the fire may have been arson persists today.[56]

The configuration of the cultural landscape of Butte is best recalled by historian Mary Murphy in her book, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41*. Murphy focuses on the social make up of Butte in the interwar years to describe changing social patterns in Butte. Much like Kathy Peiss's *Cheap Amusements: Working*

K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 3.

[56] Pam Swinger, "Priceless equipment lost in Columbia Gardens fire," *The Montana Standard*, November 13, 1973, Columbia Gardens Vertical File 1040, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives; *Remembering the Columbia Gardens* (2004).

Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York, Murphy details working-class leisure in Butte to uncover social patterns, and ultimately to reveal changing mores for working-class women. The interwar period marked increasing access to heterosocial spaces for women to publicly enjoy male company in their leisure activities.[57] Murphy's cultural landscape then offers an example of a playscape in Butte by offering perspective on the socio-environmental details of adult heterosocial leisure spaces and activities.

Murphy makes a compelling case for all historians of Butte, and students of history more broadly, by arguing that mid-sized cities in the 1920s are far more representative historical examples of American culture than major cities like New York. Because the 1920 Census reflected for the first time an American population that was more urban than rural, major cities often serve as case studies to define broad American culture. Murphy is quick to point out that "urban" areas were places with a population exceeding 2,500 residents. Given that New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia were the only American cities over 1 million inhabitants, and that two-thirds of cities with a population over 25,000 also had fewer than 75,000 residents, mid-sized cities like Butte are much fairer barometers of the American experience at large.[58]

Historic Butte is important, too, because Butte's past, both real and imagined, is so important to the people who live there now. The Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives have dozens of volunteers, host well-attended brown bag luncheons to share historical

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[57] Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41*, Women in American History (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*, 1986.

[58] Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41*, Women in American History (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), xiv.

findings about the city, and act as a community center as much as an archive. The World Museum of Mining includes tours of the once-active Orphan Girl Mine down to the 100-foot level and has a recreated Western town, "Hell Roarin' Gulch." Tourism to Butte relies heavily on historical themes. The continuance of city-wide traditions is of paramount importance: St. Patrick's Day and the Fourth of July celebrations continue a legacy exceeding 100 years in a state that is only 131 years old.[59] These celebrations and the Montana Folk Festival that occurs annually in July bring Montanans and out of state performers and tourists to Butte. Butte and Anaconda are a designated National Parks Historic District, demarking the area as historically significant to the nation.[60] New buildings, parks, and fixtures include mining headframes to recall the height of underground copper mining in Butte, though the city is perhaps better known now for open-pit mining and Superfund cleanup of the Berkeley Pit. This identity is both a statewide identity and often a national, headline grabbing one.[61]

Perhaps Butte is uniquely trapped in this identity, as one of few Montana mining towns that evaded ghost town status, as a single-industry town that became a single-company dominated town that still managed, at least in social definition, to not be widely considered a "company town" by locals. Author Joseph Kinsey Howard argued, "Butte's

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[59] Tracy Thornton, "Butte Residents Celebrated with or without a Parade," *The Montana Standard*, July 3, 2020, https://mtstandard.com/news/local/butte-residents-celebrated-with-or-without-a-parade/article_882af18d-2739-5ba7-9080-2fac9047e777.html; McKayla Haack, "Butte St. Patrick's Day Traditions Run Deep, despite Parade Cancellation," *NBCMontana.Com*, March 13, 2020, https://nbcmontana.com/news/local/butte-st-patricks-day-traditions-run-deep-despite-parade-cancelation.

[60] National Park Service, "Butte-Anaconda Historic District, Montana," accessed October 25, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/places/butte-anaconda-historic-district.htm.

[61] McLaughlin, "A Once-Powerful Montana Mining Town Warily Awaits Final Cleanup of Its Toxic Past."

exciting past is important only because few American communities are so enslaved by their own tradition – a tradition, in this case, which has helped to make Butte the outstanding example of exploitation by the American imperialist capitalism which has stripped the resources of the nation's own frontiers..."[62] In other words, Butte is not so special, but it is an outstanding example of what the totalizing extractive resource industry did to the American West and the communities it dominated. Butte is indisputably laden by its history: it was part of a nation-building, imperialist extension of American enterprise, but is now haunted by gutted industry. Howard points to the reduction in mining jobs that suggest Butte has not truly been a mining town since the 1930s. Yet, the reputation as a city full of miners lingers in the twenty-first century.

Undoubtedly, Butte continues to find its identity in its mining past, one dominated by a few male actors and their giant corporations. Howard noted that despite popular branding of Butte as "the biggest mining camp on earth," the city was "a northwestern metropolis, center of state and regional industry, metropolitan in aspect and influence."[63] Butte may have started as a gathering of tents or shacks with prospectors, that is, after the removal of Indigenous people, but by the turn-of-the-century Butte was growing into a realized city with streets, apartments, stores, and parks. Butte is not alone in the United States or within Montana as an extraction-ravaged exercise in imperialist capitalism, but it is a remarkable example of it.

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[62] Joseph Kinsey Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome*, Reprint (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 90.

[63] Howard, 90.

RETHINKING COMPANY TOWNS

Montanans still refer to the Anaconda Copper Mining Company as "The Company." One can utter those two words throughout the state and there will be no confusion about what "The Company" is. If there is for some reason any doubt, then one more word eradicates it: Anaconda. At its height, the Anaconda Company controlled the majority of the Treasure State's mining, smelting, logging, and newspapers. Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) purchased Anaconda in 1977, when Anaconda was still the nation's third largest producer of copper.[64] ARCO is now a property of British Petroleum (BP) and its relationship to Montana revolves around the lake of toxic mine waste in Butte called the Berkeley Pit.[65] Even with these changes at the corporate level, the Company dominated Montana's twentieth century and continues to dominate collective memories of Montana mining and its centrality to various identities in the state. This is especially true for Butte.

While it may seem simple to categorize Butte as a company town because of the dominant presence of the Anaconda Company, the answer is both academically not so simple and a category rejected by local identity.[66] The Anaconda Company grew into an industry giant, but Montana's early mining efforts before the so-called "War of the

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[64] "Arco Acquires Anaconda After Court Refuses to Bar Tie," *The New York Times*, January 13, 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times, http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/123129030?accountid=7118.

[65] Agis Salpukas, "It's Official: BP Is Planning to Buy ARCO: About 2,000 Job Cuts, Many in Los Angeles," *The New York Times*, April 2, 1999, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times, http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/110141200?accountid=7118.

[66] Peterson, *Company Town: Potlatch, Idaho and the Potlatch Lumber Company*; Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*.

Copper Kings" was a competitive (and sometimes violent) marketplace among miners and financiers.[67] Butte's mining history began with a few entrepreneurial gold prospectors, who left the mining camp when placer mining panned out. Silver gave Butte a vital boost in 1875.[68] Copper, made valuable by telephone technology and then military needs, put Butte on the map in the early 1880s.[69] It took enormous capital to make copper mining profitable in Butte.[70] Three Copper Kings dominated the battle for control of Butte's mines: William Andrews Clark, Marcus Daly, and F. Augustus Heinze.[71] Though Daly died first out of the three, in 1900, his Anaconda Copper Mining Company outlasted his competitors.[72]

The Anaconda Company was testimony to the genius and strategy of Marcus Daly. Daly arrived in Butte in the summer of 1876.[73] He was an Irishman with a substantial resume of mining experience in Colorado, Nevada, and Utah that had

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[67] C.B. Glasscock, *The War of the Copper Kings: Greed, Power, and Politics: The Billion-Dollar Battle for Butte, Montana, the Richest Hill on Earth*, 2002nd ed. (Helena, MT: Riverbend Publishing, 2002).

[68] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 3; Clark C. Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, The States and the Nation (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), 24–39.

[69] Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 38–39.

[70] K. Ross Toole, *Twentieth Century Montana: A State of Extremes* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 101, Twentieth Century Montana.; K. Ross Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper," K. Ross Toole's Montana, Episode 9, *Montanans for Quality Television (MQTV)*, 1985, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Archives and Special Collections at the University of Montana, https://scholarworks.umt.edu/toolesmontana/.

[71] Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (Riverbend)*.

[72] "Death of Marcus Daly," *The New York Times*, November 13, 1900, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times, http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/96021193?accountid=7118.

[73] H. Minar Shoebotham, *Anaconda: Life of Marcus Daly the Copper King* (Harrisburg, PA: The Stackpole Company, 1956), 38; Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (Riverbend)*, 44.; Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper."

garnered connections with wealthy investors.[74] The Walker Brothers, of Salt Lake City, sent Daly on his initial visit to Butte, but it was George Hearst and James Ben Ali Haggin who funded Daly's gamble on the Anaconda mine and his vision to build the largest smelter in the world.[75] The construction of the smelter 26 miles from Butte near Warm Springs Creek demanded the accompanying construction of a town. Though Daly wanted to name it "Copperopolis," the community instead took on the name of the mine whose ore it would smelt: Anaconda.[76]

The Anaconda Company was not the only large or successful mining company in Montana, but over time it was by far the most influential. The Anaconda Company

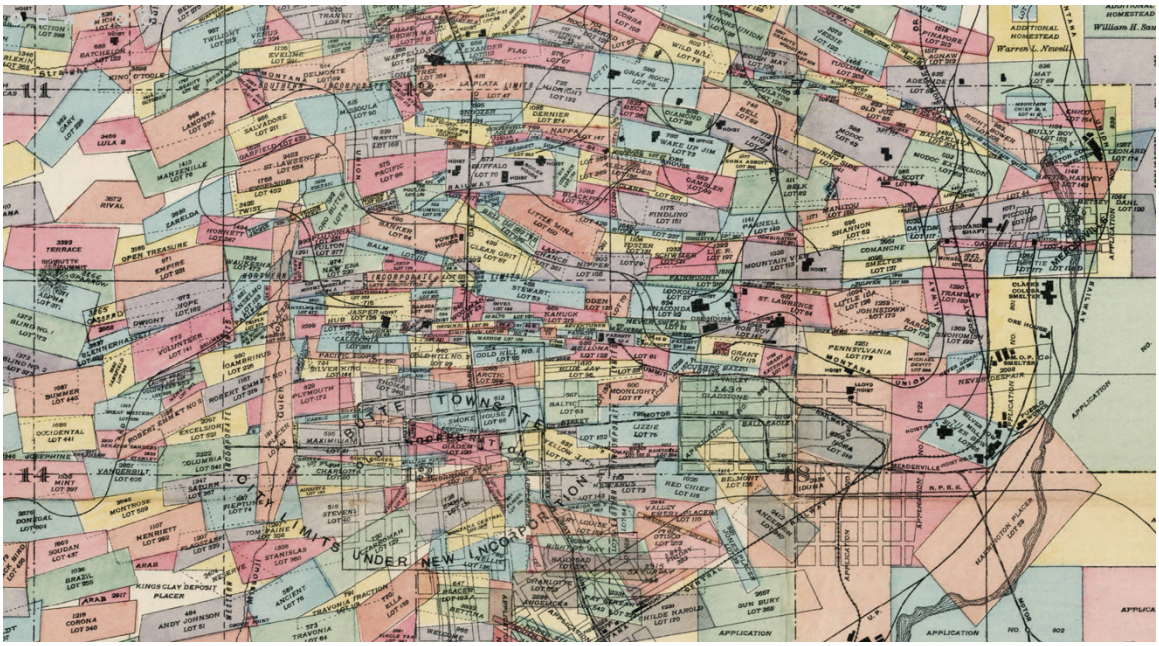

Figure 4 Section of Map of Mining Claims of Butte City and Vicinity, Montana, Baker and Harper, 1893, Montana Memory Project, https://mtmemory.org/digital/collection/p15018coll5/id/673.

[74] Shoebotham, *Anaconda: Life of Marcus Daly the Copper King*; Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (Riverbend)*.; Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper."

[75] Shoebotham, *Anaconda: Life of Marcus Daly the Copper King*, 35–67.; Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper."

[76] Shoebotham, 70–71.

produced 36 million tons of copper in its first operating year, accounting for nearly half of Butte's copper production.[77] By 1887, Anaconda produced the most copper of any smelter in the world and 75% of Butte's copper.[78] Such success attracted H.H. Rogers of Standard Oil, who aspired to corner the copper market in the age of monopolies.[79] Rogers formed Amalgamated Copper. The giant corporation absorbed Anaconda, W.A. Clark's companies, and the Boston & Montana Company.[80] Amalgamated dissolved in 1915, reorganized under the Anaconda name. In the 1920s, Anaconda bought eight Montana newspapers: the *Anaconda Standard,* the *Butte Daily Post,* the *Montana Standard,* the *Billings Gazette,* the *Missoulian,* the *Missoula Sentinel,* the *Helena Independent Record,* and the *Livingston Enterprise.*[81] Anaconda Copper had dominated Butte's economy, politics, and journalism for almost a century when ARCO bought the company and their copper mining in Butte ceased.

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[77] Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper" (recorded lecture).

[78] Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper."

[79] Toole, *Twentieth Century Montana: A State of Extremes*, 104–22.; Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper."

[80] Toole, 104–8.

[81] The *Great Falls Tribune* was the only major newspaper in Montana the Anaconda Company did not own. John T. McNay, "Breaking the Copper Collar: The Sale of the Anaconda Newspapers and the Professionalization of Journalism in Montana" (Missoula, MT, University of Montana, 1991), ScholarWorks at the University of Montana, https://scholarworks.umt.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6071&context=etd; John T. McNay, "Breaking the Copper Collar: Press Freedom, Professionalization, and the History of Montana Journalism," *American Journalism* 25, no. 1 (2008): 99–123.

Despite this ideological and economic control, Butte wasn't wholly a company town truly owned by the Anaconda Company. The ACM Co did not own workers' homes, or issue company scrip. As Keith Peterson notes, company towns were endeavors to control the environment and promote productivity in employees. Pullman, Illinois, is one of the most common examples. Potlatch, Idaho is a regional example, where the Potlatch Lumber Company designed and built the layout and homes in the closed community, with stratified sections for management and laborers, and banned alcohol in the city.[82] As closed communities, only employees of the company that built the town lived there. This was never the case in Butte.

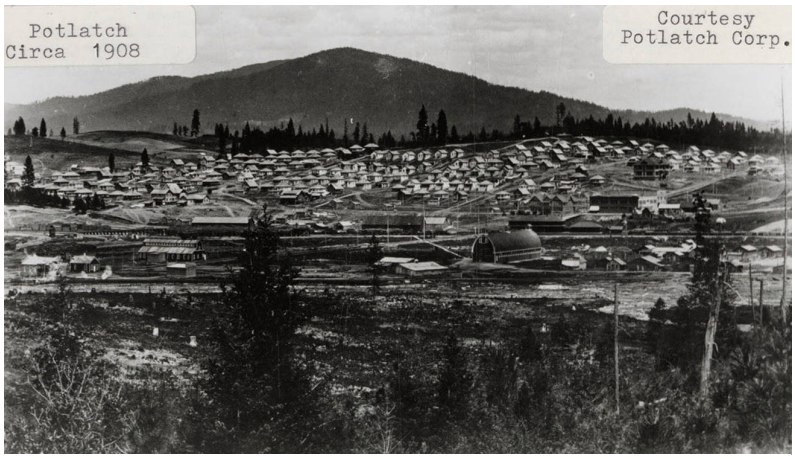

Figure 4 Potlatch, Idaho, 1908, Lee Gale Scrapbooks, Potlatch Historical Society, https://www.lib.uidaho.edu/digital/phs/items/phs1247.html

The mining companies' corporate welfare efforts for Butte mimicked planning that would later shape new company towns. For example, William Andrews Clark's Columbia Gardens park was seen as a gift to the city of Butte. Clark, a competitor of the Anaconda Company and its owner, Marcus Daly, allegedly remarked that the city needed

[82] Peterson, *Company Town: Potlatch, Idaho and the Potlatch Lumber Company*, 88–91.

a proper, manicured park for children to safely play in.[83] Pullman and Potlatch took this on when planning their cities, too. Clark owned the streetcar that took patrons to Columbia Gardens. The Anaconda Company funded Washoe Park in Anaconda.[84] While such arrangements offered corporations control in industries that might otherwise be volatile or face labor inconsistencies, company towns required more administrative responsibility for the community than the Anaconda Company took on. Anaconda, Montana was more directly under ACM Co.'s thumb than Butte, but the Company exerted its control through other means in both the smelter town and the mining city.

More insidious than in the conventional company town, the Anaconda Company owned the mineral rights beneath Butte. This meant the ACM Co. controlled the earth beneath the city, including below Butte residents' homes, but was not legally or financially responsible for what happened on the surface. The City of Butte often used abandoned and semi-abandoned surface mine yards as public parks. ACM and other mining companies granted permission with the understanding that the City only had access to the surface lots for as long as mining interests allowed.[85] The semblance of individual autonomy for Butte and its residents relieved the Company of liability, without

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[83] Adolph H. Heilbronner, "Sights and Scenes and a Brief History of Columbia Gardens, Butte's Only Pleasure Resort" (Butte, MT: Butte Miner Co., 1902).

[84] "Byways and Vistas in Anaconda's New Park," *The Anaconda Standard*, August 5, 1906, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/anaconda-standard-aug-05-1906-p-1/; Susan Dunlap, "Duck Pond and Connecting Trail at Anaconda's Washoe Park Complete," *The Montana Standard*, October 5, 2015, https://mtstandard.com/natural-resources/duck-pond-and-connecting-trail-at-anacondas-washoe-park-complete/article_8faf0370-840f-542a-be67-480db6b7c0ea.html; "Washoe Park Trout Hatchery," Anaconda Montana Chamber of Commerce, accessed November 13, 2020, https://discoveranaconda.com/attractions/washoe-park-trout-hatchery.

[85] Butte City Council, "Reports of the Parks and Playgrounds Committee 1916-1969," Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

sacrificing means of controlling the resources the ACM Co. needed most. The Anaconda Company did not need to exert absolute control over the surface of Butte to enjoy power and overreach in Montana. In this sense, Butte was more than a company town: the physical landscape of the city was company controlled without requiring responsibility for what happened in workers' lives. But forfeiting that responsibility of managing worker's personal lives meant the ACM Co., while a dominant force, did not control its employees as it might have in a true company town or by undertaking Americanization programs to assimilate immigrants. It left a door open for loyalty to union identity rather than company identity.

The Butte Mines Band presents an opportunity to interrogate Butte's moniker as a "Gibraltar of Unionism."[86] The unionized labor structure in Butte radiated from its primary industry into dozens of professional occupations besides mining. Was Butte then a union town rather than a company town? The eventual and overwhelming victories of corporate mining interests over union organizing suggest that Butte was not a town with indomitable collective bargaining power. The unions also never seized control of company property or public utilities, a requisite for Aurora Gómez-Galvarriato in her work on Río Blanco and Santa Rosa, Mexico as union towns.[87] But, the strength of

[86] The term "Gibraltar of Unionism" is used widely to describe Butte, both in academic writing and journalism. A few examples in academic writing are: Jerry W. Calvert, *The Gibraltar: Socialism and Labor in Butte, Montana, 1895-1920* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988); Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, xiii; Michael Punke, *Fire and Brimstone: The North Butte Mining Disaster of 1917* (New York: Hyperion, 2006), 137; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 22.

[87] Aurora Gómez-Galvarriato, "From Company Towns to Union Towns: Textile Workers and the Revolutionary State in Mexico," in *Company Towns in the Americas: Landscape, Power, and Working-Class Communities*, Geographies of Justice and Social Transformation (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 49, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/stable/j.ctt46njbf.

Butte's union identity, which persists to the present, suggests that its residents identified more strongly with union identity more than with company identity–and that being a union town is defined by more than just gains earned by workers' collective bargaining against corporate interests. Union activity structured the daily non-work lives of Butte residents in ways that translated collective organizations rather than individualistic or entrepreneurial aims. That is, people modeled society after union structures rather than corporate ones even if they did so in opposition to the company that dominated the town.

Labor movement activity in Butte disassembles notions of the West as lawless, disorganized, or otherwise uncivilized, work other historians of the West have long sought to counter, as well.[88] Life and work in Butte were undoubtedly risky, but city politics, labor interests, and social organizations reflect desires to create safe and fulfilling living conditions. This was in part because culture in the American West was influenced by those who immigrated there. Butte was overwhelmingly populated by people from the Eastern United States and from Europe.[89] As with settlements on the several frontiers in American History, the people who came to Butte brought with them their cultural norms and expectations.

Community commitment to labor was also a reaction to the unhesitatingly brutal capitalism of the mining industry in the nineteenth century. In a profession where concerns were not *if* employees would die, but rather *how many* would die; where it was

[88] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1987), 19.
[89] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 9–13.

not a matter of *if* the market busts, but *when*, miners were keen to organize in order to protect their lives, their loved ones, and their jobs. An awareness of financial and physical precarity permeated throughout this single-industry town. Unions, including the Musicians' Union, provided a means to abate this precarity, and to ensure death and funeral benefits should the need arise.[90]

For those who worked in the mines or played in the Mines Band, death was never far from mind in Butte. Mining headframes called gallows or "gallus" frames loomed over the City–they still do. Such a name is evocative in a city where infamous lynchings and murders committed in the name of vigilante justice or capitalist gain took place. The most famous of these was the brutal hunt for socialist and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) member Frank Little. Men frequently died in the mines or because of their time in the mines and resulting silicosis; children often died of sickness or careless play in a city hardly meant for children; women were often left widows and grieving mothers, wondering if they could maintain their own health and safety. According to sociologist Janet Finn, infant and toddler deaths were daily occurrences.[91] Death is a vital factor in defining and analyzing environment in Butte. It is also a crucial aspect of understanding Butte as a single-industry town. These are inseparable axes of power, identity, and place.

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[90] Butte's robust pension program for widows and children is indicative of the commitment to death benefits arranged by local authorities. Funeral notices for union members often note the contributions to memorial services paid for by the deceased's union. County Auditor, Silver Bow County Auditor's Records, Butte-Silver Bow Archives, GR.AU.SB.002.001.004 https://buttearchives.pastperfectonline.com/archive/DF778BB4-AABB-47FE-8334-779335490510.

[91] Janet L. Finn, *Mining Childhood: Growing Up in Butte, Montana, 1900-1960* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2012), 152–57.

By examining the organization Butte Mines Band and death, the nuances of Butte's social, commercial, cultural, and consumptive character become clearer.

The inescapable influence of the extractive resource industry and unionism in Butte gives reason to reframe conventional understandings of company towns ton include social structures shaped by and local agency in resistance to a totalizing economic structure. Previous scholarship settled on the idea that Butte was a "one-company-town."[92] I rely on the phrases "one-company-town," "single industry town," or "mining city," in the hopes that these complex phrases push historical understanding of corporate-cultural relationships beyond the constraints of "company towns."

CONCLUSION

This report relies on the theories, methods, and scholarship outlined in this chapter to analyze the records of the Butte Mines Band and the Butte Musicians' Union, as well as newspaper articles, census records, and literary representations of Butte's musicians, their patrons and interlocutors, and their fellow Butte residents. Framing the Mines Band in a socio-environmental context that strives to reimagine the city, its people, its surroundings, and its heartbeat begins to formulate the complex role of the ensemble. The musicians' records and their stories reveal the rich and complicated entanglements of a not-quite-company town beyond the mines. Putting the term "company town" into question then begs an answer to what kind of city Butte was. The next chapter details the

[92] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 287. Zena Beth McGlashan, "Caring for the Dead: The Development of the Funeral Business in Butte," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 56, no. 4 (Winter 2006), http://www.jstor.com/stable/4520843.

establishment of Butte, it's character and sensory landscape, and its culturescape through neighborhoods and leisure.

Chapter Two: The Mining City

As chapter one illustrates, Butte was always more than a company town–most so-called company towns are–and the Mines Band was more than a company band. This chapter provides a brief overview of Butte's establishment and development as a city and a community. Public scholars and journalists tend to promote a comfortable history of Butte that does not challenge its identity as a raucous mining city with proud people. These histories almost entirely ignore Indigenous peoples. Some recount scant information about non-European settlers in Butte, failing to offer substantial or critical information. This chapter relies on those conventional, Euro-centric histories, but also questions what they lack by interrogating the importance of myth and collective identity in creating community history.

A community's belief and investment in an origin story or historical identity is more powerful than a factual recounting of events. This is not to claim that Butte history is a lie or is poorly recounted. Rather, one goal of this study is to acknowledge the construction of history within a community and considers that formation a worthy site of inquiry unto itself. Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" provides the foundation for studying community by emphasizing that collective identity is formed based on the perception of a shared identity.[93] Jared Farmer's *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape,* also offers a roadmap for studying the

[93] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

creation of meaning, place-making, and community identity in the American West by dealing with how the residents of specific locations built an entire mythology around the place that has become inseparable from the history of the place itself. As Farmer shows, "a specific sense of place supports a general sense of home" for members of the Latter-Day Saints community.[94] For Butte, sense of place is intertwined with mining, unionism, neighborhood enclaves, cultural heritage, and survival.

This chapter also aims to apply the socio-environmental historical methods outlined in the introduction to retrace the contextual history of Butte's cultural and physical landscapes. This chapter considers Butte as a sensory landscape as well as a physical place. It relies on historical and literary sources to outline past perspectives on the history of Butte through what people saw, what they smelled, and what they heard. Understanding these sensory landscapes is essential to capturing the socio-environment encapsulating Butte's company-or-union town tension. The soundscape of the city is particularly important for the Butte Mines Band, which will get further attention in a subsequent chapter. Observing the soundscape deepens understandings of what made the Butte Mines Band special to the community as a break from the sounds of industry as well as a thoroughly integrated aspect of the city's soundtrack.

Finally, this is a study of space as much as place. Space and place are not mutually exclusive. By place I mean Butte, a city and its communities in a geospatial location that has meaning to people who lived there. A place is a location and the

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[94] Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 7.

constructed meaning people hold about it. Space is then both the built and natural physical structures of a place and how people navigate those structures. This approach is similar to Farmer's in *On Zion's Mount,* wherein he asks what makes a space a place and how this relates to collective memory and identity.[95] For this study, spaces include the mines, the ethnically organized neighborhoods, the creation and uses of Columbia Gardens, and the use of Butte's cemeteries. To study these as spaces is to ask what they looked like, smelled like, felt like to people at different times in Buttes history. To study these as places is to ask what they meant to people.

This chapter weaves together the importance of place-making in urban development by detailing the landscape of the city's sprawl. Butte's ethnic neighborhoods have long been important to historians. Space–physical distance–between people and places shared by people define much of urban history (or, for that matter, rural history). This study then reaches beyond enumerating homes and businesses to emphasize how leisure spaces were created and explores how, when, and by whom they were made and used. This line of investigation blurs the lines between mining and non-mining spaces.

ESTABLISHING BUTTE

The minerals that made Butte the Richest Hill on Earth formed around 64 to 66 million years ago, in the Late Cretaceous period.[96] Magmatic activity acting on the

[95] Farmer, 3–4.

[96] Berger, Hildenbrand, and O'Neill, "Control of Precambrian Basement Deformation Zones on Emplacement of the Laramide Boulder Batholith and Butte Mining District, Montana, United States."

Laramide Boulder Batholith, a deep intrusion of igneous rock into the Earth's crust, formed porphyry deposits of copper and veins of rock bearing both copper and silver ore.[97] The shifting of tectonic plates spurred this magmatic activity that resulted in rich mineral deposits beneath what became Butte, east of the Deer Lodge Valley and north of the Big Hole.[98]

What is now Silver Bow County is within the traditional lands of the Shoshone-Bannock and Salish Kootenai peoples.[99] In 1805, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's Corps of Discovery likely came within 60 miles of the section of Montana where Butte would grow more than half a century later.[100] Reports that the Hidatsa kidnapped Sacajawea at the Three Forks of the Missouri note the presence of the Shoshone and the Hidatsa in the area before she returned there with Lewis and Clark.[101] When mining by Euro-Americans began on Silver Bow Creek, the U.S. government had already moved by treaty the bulk of Indigenous populations from the area onto Indian Reservations. Treaties do not accurately represent the timing of peoples' movements. One should not conclude that the treaties signaled the beginning of American Indian removal, nor the

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[97] Porphyry is an igneous rock deposit, typically of feldspar or, in the case of Butte, quartz, with conspicuous crystalline rock formations. Robert L. Bates and Julia A. Jackson, eds., "Porphyry," in *Dictionary of Geological Terms* (New York: Anchor Books, 1984).; Berger, Hildenbrand, and O'Neill, "Control of Precambrian Basement Deformation Zones on Emplacement of the Laramide Boulder Batholith and Butte Mining District, Montana, United States."

[98] Berger, Hildenbrand, and O'Neill, "Control of Precambrian Basement Deformation Zones on Emplacement of the Laramide Boulder Batholith and Butte Mining District, Montana, United States."

[99] Native Land Digital, "Native Land Digital."

[100] National Park Service, "High Potential Historic Sites on the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," accessed August 7, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/gis/storymaps/mapjournal/v2/index.html?appid=23a458e25b3a4573af574fa960b06ba6.

[101] Three Forks, Montana is approximately 56 miles from Butte, Montana. National Park Service.

end. The 1855 Hellgate Treaty and the 1868 Fort Bridger Treaty created in U.S. law the legal home of the Salish-Kootenai (Flathead) on the Flathead Reservation and of the Shoshone-Bannock on the Fort Hall Reservation, respectively.[102] The U.S. also relocated Shoshone from Montana to Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.[103]

Non-Indigenous histories of Butte offer reprehensibly sparse information of the Indigenous population. For all the active remembering the community supports through the Butte Historic Landmark District, there is also active erasure of Indigenous history. There are historical markers and interpretive signs for nearly every headframe, mine yard, and neighborhood in Butte.[104] However, there is virtually no recognition of Indigenous people in Butte reflected in this signage. White settlers in Butte allegedly named the city for the Big Butte where the Montana Technological University "M" is today.[105] Even Silver Bow Creek's name supposedly comes from miners in 1864 who panned for gold in the creek.[106] American cities often take

Figure 5 View of the "Big Butte," namesake of Butte, June 2020, photo by Gwendolyn Lockman.

[102] Treaty with the Flatheads, Etc., 1855; TREATY WITH THE EASTERN BAND SHOSHONI AND BANNOCK, 1868.

[103] Joaquin Miller, *An Illustrated History of the State of Montana* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1894), 16, https://archive.org/details/illustratedhisto00mill/page/n9/mode/2up.

[104] Observations from walking Montana's Copperway trail system, public parks, Historic Landmark District, and driving throughout Butte and surrounding areas on Interstate 90, Interstate 15, and Montana State Highway 2, all during a Summer 2020 Carrie Johnson Fellowship at the Butte-Silver Bow Archives.

[105] The City-County of Butte Silver Bow, "Big Butte Open Space," accessed November 27, 2020, https://www.co.silverbow.mt.us/712/Big-Butte-Open-Space.

[106] Jim Robbins, "Let the Stream Run Through It," *The New York Times*, June 25, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/25/science/butte-superfund-silver-bow-

on Indigenous names, whether for the city or its streets, but Butte's grid is based on the names of U.S. Presidents and States, Copper Kings, and minerals. As the U.S. military sought to move Indigenous people away from natural resource interests, including minerals, Butte city officials erased their presence on the landscape. Butte is often touted as Montana's most historically diverse encampment or city, yet there is a considerable failure when it comes to acknowledging the land's first people.

Applying a socio-environmental lens to the area's history begs one to consider the land from a borderlands perspective that acknowledges the changing political history of a physical place. Indigenous nations as well as Spain, England, France, and Russia all held claims on the land that became Montana prior to its status as American land.[107] As American land, Montana was included in Indiana, Louisiana, and Missouri Territories, "unorganized Indian Territory," and Kansas, Dakota, and Idaho Territories.[108] It was finally dubbed Montana territory from 1864-1889.[109] Montana's change of hands over centuries is relevant to uncovering the construction of place and identity there. Foregrounding the conceptualization of the land helps to analyze Montana as a physical place at once indifferent to and essential for people who create and cast identity upon it.

The story of Butte's inception by non-Indigenous people most often begins with the placer mining camps of the 1860s in what became Southwestern Montana. Historian

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creek.html#:~:text=%E2%80%94%20The%20first%20flecks%20of%20gold,tiny%20stream%20for%20its%20riches.

[107] Clark C. Spence, *Territorial Politics and Government in Montana, 1864-89* (Urbana, IL and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 5, https://archive.org/details/territorialpolit0000spen/page/2/mode/2up.

[108] Spence, 5.

[109] Spence, *Territorial Politics and Government in Montana, 1864-89*.

Clark Spence suggested Euro-American mining began in the Deer Lodge Valley as early as 1852.[110] Journalist Joseph Kinsey Howard claimed gold mining in Montana began at Gold Creek in 1856 with a French fur trapper, potentially métis, named François Finlay.[111] The nod to Finlay and his potentially mixed heritage prompts the consideration that Indigenous people were aware of and used gold found there, though the extant scholarly record does not yet reflect this.

The consensus benchmark of Montana's profitable mining history is 1862 at Gold Creek.[112] A series of boom towns rose and fall: Virginia City, Bannack, Emigrant Gulch, and Confederate Gulch all struck gold and faded away within a decade.[113] Montana became a U.S. territory in 1864, which was also a landmark year for mining in the newfound territory.[114] Last Chance Gulch became the city of Helena after prospectors found gold in 1864.[115] Silver Bow Creek, where prospectors, too, struck gold in 1864, grew into Butte.[116]

The population of Silver Bow Creek diminished when placer gold operations panned out, however, the discovery of silver and copper in the 1870s put Butte on the road to becoming a global actor in mining and economics. Residents planned Butte City

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[110] Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 25.
[111] Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome*, 38.
[112] Spence, *Territorial Politics and Government in Montana, 1864-89*, 7.; Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 25; Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome*, 38.; C.B. Glasscock, *The War of the Copper Kings: Greed, Power, and Politics: The Billion-Dollar Battle for Butte, Montana, the Richest Hill on Earth*, 2002 ed. (Helena, MT: Riverbend Publishing, 2002), 6; Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 2–4; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 21.
[113] Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 28.
[114] Spence, *Territorial Politics and Government in Montana, 1864-89*, 2.
[115] Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 39.
[116] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 3.

in 1876 and incorporated the municipality three years later.[117] William Andrews Clark and Marcus Daly began to establish their empires and amass monumental amounts of capital.[118] Butte became a major actor in the global copper market in the 1880s, with Marcus Daly's Anaconda Company rivaling mining in Michigan, where the strongest copper operations in the United States in the 1880s came from the Associated Smelters of Lake Superior. Clark, F. Augustus Heinze, and other entrepreneurial, if smaller, mine owners tried to compete with Daly, and in turn the Michigan copper companies, resulting in an overall copper production from Butte totaling over 68 million pounds of copper in 1885. The competition among American copper became known as the Montana-Michigan Price War, which collapsed the global copper market by 1889. Butte copper was produced in such great volume, with low-paid labor, and sold at the lowest price in the world at 10 cents a pound, devastated the previously fixed copper market. This dramatic fight for power over copper came when reliance on copper in electrical infrastructure was growing.[119]

Clark and Daly defined not only Butte mining but also territory and state politics into the 1900s through a bitter rivalry.[120] Daly marked his influence by taking a huge and

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[117] Murphy, 3.

[118] C.B. Glasscock, *The War of the Copper Kings: Builders of Butte and Wolves of Wall Street* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1935); Shoebotham, *Anaconda: Life of Marcus Daly the Copper King*; Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*.

[119] K. Ross Toole, "That Precious Metal Copper," K. Ross Toole's Montana, Episode 9, *Montanans for Quality Television (MQTV)*, 1985, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Archives and Special Collections at the University of Montana, https://scholarworks.umt.edu/toolesmontana/.

[120] Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (1935)*; Shoebotham, *Anaconda: Life of Marcus Daly the Copper King*; Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*; Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1976); Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*.

ultimately profitable risk on the Anaconda Mine. He built a town of the same name, owned the *Anaconda Standard* newspaper, formed a bank, and built relationships with America's corporate giants in an attempt to build Amalgamated Copper, a copper conglomerate akin to U.S. Steel.[121] Clark purchased mines and railroads in Montana, Nevada, and Arizona.[122] Clark also raised banks in both the towns of Deer Lodge and Butte, built up the Columbia Gardens, owned the *Butte Daily Miner* newspaper, and sought political power. [123] He spent outrageous sums bribing state legislators to elect him to the U.S. Senate, and Daly spent equally outrageous money attempting to stop Clark.[124] Clark eventually served as Senator from Montana from 1901-1907.[125] Daly died in 1901, while Clark lived until 1925, when Clark's estate sold all his Montana holdings to the Anaconda Company.[126] The War of the Copper Kings is long over, but their struggle for power shaped Butte's physical landscape and collective memory for decades.

Identifying place and power through mining provides initial meaning to Butte's history and collective memory as it is known today. Butte gained importance as the city, its reputation, and the power and wealth made there grew. Myths and ideas about Butte as a grimy western urbanity founded on riches and trickery gained traction quickly. Butte's

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[121] Shoebotham, *Anaconda: Life of Marcus Daly the Copper King*; Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (1935)*.; Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*.

[122] Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (Riverbend)*, 26–45; Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 95–105; Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 143–58.

[123] Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (Riverbend)*, 26–45; Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 95–105; Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 143–58.

[124] Glasscock, *War of the Copper Kings (Riverbend)*, 146–65.

[125] Glasscock, 181; Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 169.

[126] Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, Vertical Files, William Andrews Clark (Estate, Will, Probate), VF 0190.032.1.

history remains incomplete because most academic study of the area prioritizes mining and political history over the stories of the area prior to mining and of those who inhabited Butte but lived outside of the American western mining norms. This study does not complete that history but hopes to prompt questions about Butte's history that expand the breadth of actors and events included in its past.

A Wide-Open Town

Like other cities in the American West, Butte was a known as a "wide open town."[127] Montana journalist Joseph Kinsey Howard referenced town literature that proclaimed Butte's "doors are wide open, nothing is hidden."[128] This identity was built on characterizing Butte as ruthless, dirty, and prone to vice. Howard famously called Butte, "sprawling and slovenly, a bully of a city, stridently male, profane and blustering and boastful."[129] He called it "the black heart of Montana, feared and distrusted," a repulsive "sooty memorial to personal heroism, to courage and vigor even in rascality; and…a monument to a wasted land."[130] Howard was already a prolific journalist, but his book *High, Wide, and Handsome* became a defining text in Montana History for its criticism of the Anaconda Company, which still retained great influence in the 1940s.[131]

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[127] Brian Shovers, "Remaking the Wide-Open Town: Butte at the End of the Twentieth Century," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 1998): 40–53, http://www.jstor.com/stable/4520072; Myron Brinig, *Wide Open Town* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1931).; Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 6.

[128] Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome*, 85.

[129] Howard, 85.

[130] Howard, 85.

[131] Joseph Kinsey Howard Collection, Archives West, http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv26338.

This criticism influenced Montana historians after Howard, particularly K. Ross Toole, one of the University of Montana's most sought after professors during his tenure there, and one-time director of the Montana Historical Society.[132]

Author Myron Brinig similarly imagined the city's character a decade earlier, in his novel *Wide Open Town.* Brinig's story follows John Donnelly, an Irish immigrant working as a miner and living in Silver Bow, pseudonym for Butte. The scourge of Silver Bow challenges Donnelly's moral compass as an Irish Catholic when he falls in love with a prostitute named Zola. In Brinig's words, Silver Bow was "where everything was wide open, bawdy houses, dance halls, gambling dens, (and) hop houses."[133] It was "a tempestuous town, a boiling town, a wicked town," where "the air captured you and filled you with notions, and anything, any awful thing might happen here, under these mountains."[134] Describing the sins of a Saturday night in the red-light district, he wrote, "Primitive America is at play." [135] The soundscape was rife with music, alcohol, sex, electric lights, police wagons, and fights. Such stories served to further ideas about Butte as a rough-and-tumble mining town of the American West, fraught with temptation to lead immigrants astray. Though a fictionalized account from 1931, *Wide Open Town* illustrates ideas about turn of the century Butte that became entrenched in its identity and memory. *Wide Open Town* forms an interpretation of Butte that emphasizes indulgent life, similar to the image Howard offers in *High, Wide, and Handsome*. Brinig's main

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[132] K. Ross Toole Papers, 1867-1992, Archives West, http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv06430.
[133] Brinig, *Wide Open Town*, 37.
[134] Brinig, 74.
[135] Brinig, 38.

character loves, dances, drinks, and works in Silver Bow, all of which is affected by the city's industry, money, and transient population.

Butte was not completely lawless, however, and city officials sought to rein in misbehavior. City ordinances reveal the problems and concerns of governing Butte even in its early days. Opium smoking, hurdy-gurdy houses, concealed weapons, stray dogs, gambling, children in saloons, prostitution, prizefighting, bicycle speeds, junk shops, railway ticket scalping, clairvoyants and fortune tellers, and proper waste disposal all earned their own city ordinances drafted between 1889 and 1906.[136] This list of concerns offers hints at what happened in public and private, and whose behavior officials sought to monitor. Ordinances also tell us some streets had sidewalks, had regular cleaning procedures and schedules, and included pedestrians, horses, buggies, streetcars, automobiles, and, in the winter, sleighs. Butte's central business district was at once a realized city with bars, banks, cars, and white-collar businessmen, and a western mirage of hard laborers, tricksters, filth, and money earned and lost in an instant.

So, while Butte may have been an exciting place to be in its early days, it is important to temper ideas about the mythically wild west. The masculinity and vigilantism of western mining is part of Butte's history. A brusqueness of perseverance and tenacity lingers because community identity is invested in maintaining a reputation of toughness. But unlike the Hollywood version of a mining camp–think *Paint Your Wagon* (1969) as the false-front stores and brothels get eaten by collapsing mine shafts and the

[136] Edwin M. Lamb and Harry A. Bolinger, *Compiled Ordinances City of Butte 1902*, vol. 3, 1902.

whole camp leaves for the next claim–Butte grew into a city with regulations akin to those of America's urban coasts by the close of the nineteenth century. Butte had boarding houses, hotels, theaters, parks, cemeteries, churches, roads, and railways. City officials and wealthy figures were concerned with sanitation, poverty, health, and the appearance of Butte, much like their counterparts in New York, San Francisco, and Chicago.[137] Butte was remote, but it was as urban a place as anywhere between Minneapolis and Seattle at the time.

SENSORY LANDSCAPES: BREATH, SMELL, AND SOUND IN BUTTE

A sensory history of Butte helps conceptualize what sights and sounds might represent the overlapping reality of a wild west mining camp with burgeoning urban life as the Gilded Age waned and the Progressive Era stormed in. While the mountains were not visible every day in Butte because of noxious fumes from smelting, one undoubtedly felt the elevation of the city in belabored breath. One might also be aware of the loss of the view of the mountains traded in for inescapable, sulfuric fumes. This particular example is aware of the duality of the Western mining frontier–the elevation of the mountains and remoteness of Montana–and the urbanity of industrial life–walking a city and smelling the output of one of the world's most productive sites for copper.

Myron Brinig's *Wide Open Town,* published in 1935, creates a dramatic literary landscape of Butte through its fictionalized counterpart Silver Bow that reflected Brinig's sensory knowledge of the city. The author, who experienced Butte firsthand, asks readers

[137] Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 2.

to consider their own ease of breath as he writes, “This was the time before the engineers had succeeded in eliminating the sulphur fumes from the mines, and the gas was so thick you could cut the air with a knife. It choked you, burned in your throat, in your gizzard. It was hard air, five thousand feet above sea level, impregnated with sulphur.”[138] The ore mined in Butte was at best four or five percent copper, the other ninety-five percent of the ore constituted of quartz, iron, and silica, sometimes sulfur, and other times sulfur and arsenic.[139] Processing ore required crushing, concentrating, and heating the ore in smelters, which belched smoke into the air.[140] As for the elevation, one of Butte’s many monikers and mottos is “A Mile High and A Mile Deep.” The phrase is painted on the now closed Mountain-Consolidated Mine (Mountain-Con, or the Con) headframe. The Con once lowered men to a depth of over 5,200 feet.[141] The city’s official elevation in 5,538 feet above sea level.[142] The combination of elevation and mining output that

Figure 6 Mountain Con Mine, June 2020, photo by Gwendolyn Lockman.

[138] Brinig, *Wide Open Town*, 4.

[139] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 142.

[140] Timothy James LeCain, “Copper and Longhorns: Material and Human Power in Montana’s Smelter Smoke War, 1860-1910,” in *Mining North America: An Environmental History since 1522* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017).

[141] Montana Department of Environmental Quality, “Historic Context Aka Summit Valley, Lost Child, Independence, Rocker, Browns Gulch.”

[142] The City-County of Butte Silver Bow, “Community Fact Sheet,” accessed July 1, 2020, https://co.silverbow.mt.us/377/Community-Factsheet.

made Butte's air thick with arsenic and sulphur made it difficult to breathe in Butte for decades.[143] This was made harder for those workers afflicted with silicosis, or Miner's Consumption, a pulmonary fibrosis caused by inhalation of silica particles that then create hardened nodules on the lungs.[144] In short, underground miners inhaled silica dust that destroyed their lungs and caused a disease with no proven treatment.[145] Breathing was physically difficult even for the healthy in Butte, and the city reeked with the byproducts of mining.

Figure 7 Smoke billows over Butte, children play in the street in the foreground, circa 1910, in Janet Finn, Mining Childhood: Growing Up in Butte, Montana, 1900-1960 (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2012), 16.

Smells in Butte reflected environmental danger and destruction. Historian Clark Spence compared Butte's odor to the levels of Hell, writing, "With time, as smelters were erected in camps like Butte, sulphur or arsenic fumes mingled with the stench of privies in a malodorous affront to the nostrils and created a wasteland devoid of vegetation that

[143] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 4; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 31.

[144] Jo Elle Peterson and Philip T. Cagle, "Silicosis," in *Pulmonary Pathology*, ed. Philip T. Cagle and Keith M. Kerr, Encyclopedia of Pathology (Springer International Publishing AG, 2018), https://link-springer-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-319-69263-0_240.

[145] Peterson and Cagle; Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome*, 87; Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 18–19; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 25–27.

Dante might have described."[146] Like sound, smell could mean life or death in the mines: one instance of Repauno gelatine No. 1 powder produced a gaseous smell that resulted in the deaths of three men.[147] The gas was likely odor free, but the presence of nitroglycerin and sodium nitrate may have produced a sweet smell, with the faint likeness of burning sugar.[148] The smellscape of Butte reflected the socio-environmental make-up of an early twentieth century industrial city.

Beyond the mines Butte had an increasingly urban soundscape. The goods flowing from the mines and the supplies coming to Butte came by train, as did people. Located in the low point between mountains and foothills, the railway station sounded off with horns, bells, brakes, and engines.[149] By the time cars were ubiquitous in the 1920s, most of Butte's smelting operations had moved to Anaconda, Montana, twenty-six miles to the West.[150] Before popular use of cars for mining and personal use alike, however, most of Butte's transportation was animal powered. Below ground, mules helped haul ore, while above ground, mules and horses hauled buggies and carts to transport people and goods.[151] Regulation of bike speeds and requirements for "gongs" reveal the presence

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[146] Spence, *Montana: A Bicentennial History*, 29.

[147] "Caused by Powder Gas," *Daily Inter Mountain*, November 1, 1900, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/daily-inter-mountain-nov-01-1900-p-8/.

[148] "Toxicological Profile for Nitrate and Nitrite" (Center for Disease Control), accessed November 27, 2020, https://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/toxprofiles/tp204-c4.pdf; National Institutes of Health, "Ammonium Nitrate," PubChem National Library of Medicine National Center for Biotechnology Information, accessed November 27, 2020, https://pubchem.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/compound/Ammonium-nitrate; "Nitroglycerin," Laboratory of Molecular Electrochemistry, accessed November 27, 2020, http://lem.ch.unito.it/didattica/infochimica/2008_Esplosivi/Nitroglycerine.html.

[149] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 15.

[150] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 31.

[151] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 6; LeCain, *Mass Destruction*, 154.

and seeming nuisance of bicycle riders in Butte in 1894.[152] Part of this urban soundscape, too, were the musicians and their instruments who played music against the industrial backdrop. Though many of the instruments played by Butte's musician are familiar today–pianos, accordions, trumpets, violins–some became obsolete with changing instrument technology. For example, one could hire Joseph Ivey to play the ophicleide, a sort of tuba-saxophone combination that makes low buzzes and has a limited range, or the serpent, a long, looping brass instrument with finger holes on it like a clarinet.[153] Butte's most prominent band was the Butte Mines Band, organized in 1887 and active until 1953, but the soundtrack of a diverse city of immigrants also included bagpipes, fiddles, polkas, and sacred music from the churches and synagogues. Butte also had dozens of theaters, like any sizeable city, where one might see an opera, play, or other musical or theatrical performance.[154]

The soundscape was not only urban but industrial. Many of Butte's sounds came from machinery and from the sound of people and equipment at work. The mines operated twenty-four hours a day, meaning the hum of work, the groaning of metal and of men, never ceased. Processing the copper ore from quartz deposits required crushing and

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[152] Lamb and Bolinger, *Compiled Ordinances City of Butte 1902*, 3:120.

[153] The Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union Local No. 241 American Federation of Musicians, "Official Directory Price List and Instrumentation," December 1, 1910, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives; "Ophicleide," Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra & Chorale, accessed November 13, 2020, https://philharmonia.org/learn-and-listen/baroque-instruments/ophicleide/; "Contrabass Serpent," Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments via Wayback Machine, accessed November 13, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20070313180625/http://www.music.ed.ac.uk/euchmi/ujt/ujt2929.html.

[154] Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, Vertical Files, Theatres/List of Theatres, VF2053.

smelting–loud, mechanical processes.[155] Operating the mines required extensive water pumping and ventilation, aided by cumbersome, loud machines.[156] The elevators that brought men and ore to and from the mine depths rattled each way.[157] Communication in the mines came not in English, but in bells.[158] Butte was an immigrant town where communication came in over a dozen languages and, within those languages, regional dialects. Systems of bell signals communicated movements and warnings to miners below ground. For example, "two bells-one," or two quick tones followed by a single tone, signaled to the hoistman that a miner needed to be lowered to the first, or 100-foot level.[159] Sound could be a matter of life or death, especially in the mines. Miners had to contend with falling rock, explosives, falls, burns, scalding, crushers, suffocation, and poisoning, to name a few risks, among the dissonance of 17 different languages spoken by miners.[160]

Figure 8 "No Smoking," World Museum of Mining, Butte, Montana.

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155 Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome*, 97.

156 Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 27.

157 Leech, 23.

158 Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 27.

159 MITEEman, *Butte Montana World Museum of Mining Underground Mine Tour*, 2019, 9:17, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rx72buv_MWc.

160 Daniel Harrington, "Accident Prevention in the Mines of Butte, Montana: Issue 229" (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior Bureau of Mines, April 1920), 44; "Danger No Smoking," World Museum of Mining, accessed February 4, 2020,

Many of these risks caused miners' untimely deaths.[161] One example among many was the death of Edward Young, an English immigrant who worked in the Original Mine and played in the Alice Band.[162] Young was working at the 800-foot level of the Original Mine when a large rock broke free, rolled toward him, and struck his pick axe such that it impaled him in the stomach.[163] After his death, his fellow miners would have used the bell system to call to the surface to remove his body. The cemeteries are on "The Flat," but "The Hill" where headframes dot the landscape is near enough that it is imaginable that mourners heard the sounds of work from the gravesites. We can imagine the sounds of mourning in Butte's many religious houses: solemn hymns, the reading of scripture, the belabored walk of pall bearers, the groan of an animal-drawn cart to haul the coffin to the cemetery, the glum ringing of church bells.[164] The introduction noted the quiet solemnity of Jessie Wharton's funeral. In that case, the Presbyterian minister offered services at the Wharton's home rather than at their church.[165] The Whartons lived at 411 West Park, in Butte's wealthier neighborhood on the West Side.[166] Neighborhoods were important stratifications of Butte's culturescape, arranged around cultural heritage and class.[167] The cacophony of languages, mine work, and home and community activities

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https://svcalt.mt.gov/education/textbook/Chapter15/Mining%20lesson%20from%20Coming%20to%20Montana.pdf.

161 Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 2; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 23–25.

162 "Rolling Rock Kills a Man," *Daily Inter Mountain*, June 27, 1900, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/daily-inter-mountain-jun-27-1900-p-8/.

163 "Rolling Rock Kills a Man."

164 Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 156.

165 "Brief Funeral Services Held for Miss Wharton."

166 "Miss Whartoh [Sic] Funeral to Be Held This Afternoon."

167 Walking Butte today to gain spatial awareness and context of the distance between neighborhoods and major landmarks helps one understand this stratification. Even if some historical buildings are lost, distance remains relatively constant. One also becomes aware of the intertwining of living spaces with

made Butte a diverse city far beyond the limited imagination of Western pioneer enclaves one might otherwise associate with Montana and its neighboring states.

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NATIONALITIES

Butte was Montana's largest, most densely populated, and most diverse city at the turn of the century.[168] The city first developed on "the Hill," that is the sloping foothills of the Rocky Mountains where miners excavated Butte's riches.[169] The city later extended down to "the Flats," the lower, more even elevation that is now mostly south of Interstate 90.[170] Butte's mines and the central business district were on the hill and split the city into West and East sides.[171] Butte's population typically divided into neighborhoods along ethno-national lines, but Butte's diverse population and density meant that Butte residents encountered people different from themselves on a daily basis.[172] In Mary MacLane's words, "A single street in Butte contains people in nearly every walk of life–living side by side resignedly, if not in peace."[173] The tension MacLane notes indicates that people in Butte tolerated one another out of necessity.

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working spaces as baseball fields from the early 1900s border mine yards and train tracks run by houses. Seeing which areas of the city have been preserved versus which areas are long gone and by what they were replaced (a park, the Pit, the Interstate) reveals priorities in crafting Butte's historical identity. While the Copper King mansions are museums available for tours, Butte's black neighborhood goes unmarked. Again, no Indigenous landmarks retain any credited place in Butte's historical identity or current map–there may be roads or formations that date prior to Euro-American settlement, however those origins are not publicly acknowledged.

[168] United States Census Bureau, "Statistics for Montana," Thirteenth Census of the United States (Department of Commerce and Labor, 1910), https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1910/abstract/supplement-mt.pdf.

[169] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 15; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 62–91.

[170] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 15; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 62–91.

[171] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 15.

[172] Murphy, 12–15; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 62–91.

[173] MacLane, *Tender Darkness: A Mary MacLane Anthology*, 53.

Though Montana is a largely ethnically homogenous state now, difference in background was a fact of life in turn-of-the-century Butte.

Assumptions about historical diversity or homogeneity in Butte should first contend with ethno-national division among European immigrants and North American-born whites. Butte was made up of primarily European immigrants, Western but also increasingly Eastern European and Irish Catholic, at the turn of the century.[174] Plenty of racialized disagreements happened between European national groups.[175] Western European, Protestant immigrants and native-born Americans saw Irish Catholic, Slavic, or non-Christian Europeans as a different race. That is, Irish, Italians, Poles, and Slavs were not necessarily considered white by Butte's large Cornish population. Even with European ethnic divisions, however, discriminatory practices and customs in Butte were directed more so toward its nonwhite, non-European residents.

Asian and Black men largely could not work in the mines because of racial discrimination, so they were relegated to other forms of work. The largest minority population of Butte were Asian, mostly Chinese but also Japanese, who at the end of the nineteenth century made up nearly 10% of Montana's population.[176] Chinese men had laundries, gardens, drug stores, and restaurants.[177] Chinese women are mostly ignored by

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[174] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 9-10.

[175] Murphy, 13; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 35.

[176] Rose Hum Lee, *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region* (New York: Arno Press, 1978); Mai Wah Museum, "Butte Chinese," Mai Wah Museum, 2020, http://www.maiwah.org/explore/butte-chinese-experience/the-butte-chinese-names-and-faces/; Notes and clippings on Butte's Chinese, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Chinese, VF1059-VF1063, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[177] Notes and clippings on Butte's Chinese, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Chinese, VF1059-VF1063, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

the historical record which is unsurprising given discriminatory federal immigration laws in the U.S. at the time.[178] Black residents of Butte were a small minority of the population in Butte and Montana in the first decades of the twentieth century, though as large a percentage as they would ever be.[179] Black men worked as porters and waiters, including at special events at Columbia Gardens.[180] Black women worked in service jobs, as well as Butte's red-light district.[181] Butte certainly had some Native American population throughout the city's history.[182] Local papers often reported on Indigenous history and tribal activities near the city, but there is scarce mention of Indigenous people living and

[178] The 1910 Census report for Montana states the "Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and All Other," population for Silver Bow county was 395 people, with 343 of them men of voting age. These figures suggest there were only 52 men under 18 and women of "Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and All Other" heritage in the entire county, meaning the number of women in these categories was quite small. Wealthier Chinese men, like Chin Quon of Butte, were able to travel to their home countries to bring wives and children to the United States, but there were few men with the means to undertake such efforts. Chinese women may have been few in number in Montana because of the 1875 Page Act, which effectively barred Asian women from entering the United States under the guise of preventing the import of Asian women as prostitutes. United States Census Bureau, "Statistics for Montana"; "Woman and Child Held for Ransom," *The Butte Inter Mountain*, September 23, 1902, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/the-butte-inter-mountain-sep-23-1902-p-1/; "Butte Police Overstepped Their Authority," *The Butte Inter Mountain*, September 24, 1902, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/the-butte-inter-mountain-sep-24-1902-p-3/; Forty Third Congress of the United States, "An Act Supplementary to the Acts in Relation to Immigration," March 3, 1875, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/43rd-congress/session-2/c43s2ch141.pdf.

[179] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 28–29; Montana Historical Society, "Montana's African American Heritage Resources," Montana.gov, accessed August 28, 2020, https://mhs.mt.gov/Shpo/AfricanAmericans/Places/PropertyRecords/Butte#:~:text=Of%20the%20total%20population%20of,West's%20most%20ethnically%20diverse%20cities; Notes and clippings on Butte's African-Americans, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Blacks, VF 1049, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[180] Notes and clippings on Butte's African Americans, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Blacks, VF 1049, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives. "In A Brand New Dress," *Anaconda Standard*, June 4, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036012/1899-06-04/ed-1/seq-12/.

[181] "Butte's Grim List of Murders Not Yet Avenged," *The Anaconda Standard*, December 18, 1898, Sunday Morning edition, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036012/1898-12-18/ed-1/seq-24/.; Notes and clippings on Butte's African Americans, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Blacks, VF 1049, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[182] Notes and clippings on Native Americans in Butte, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Indians, VF 1076.1 (1971), Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

working in Butte.[183] Indigenous people were portrayed in local newspapers as historical inhabitants of Montana more than contemporary residents of Butte.[184] The 1900 Census claimed only 14 "Indian" people lived in Butte, while the 1910 Census claimed there was only one.[185] If we take these numbers at face value, the erasure of Indigenous people's presence in Butte is at least a century-long practice.

Racial and ethnic divisions showed in the neighborhood enclaves that developed in Butte. Chinatown and the red-light district, called the Line, clustered closely to the city center.[186] Butte's East Side included several boarding houses and neighborhoods that catered to recent immigrants from Europe. Finntown, home primarily to Finns, Swedes, and some English residents.[187] To the South of Finntown was the Cabbage Patch, what historian Mary Murphy characterized as "a hodgepodge of cabins and ramshackle buildings," where "working-class poor rubbed elbows with drug addicts, older prostitutes, bootleggers, and criminals."[188] North of Finntown were Dublin Gulch, Corktown, and Centerville. Dublin Gulch was primarily Irish. Serbians, Croatians, Slovenes, and Montenegrins bordered Dublin Gulch and the East Side.[189] The East Side also included Syrian and Mexican immigrants.[190] Further North and East was

[183] Notes and clippings on Native Americans in Butte, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Indians, VF 1076.1 (1971), Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.
[184] Notes and clippings on Native Americans in Butte, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Indians, VF 1076.1 (1971), Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.
[185] United States Census Bureau, "Statistics for Montana."
[186] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 7–8.
[187] Murphy, 13.
[188] Murphy, 13.
[189] Murphy, 14.
[190] Murphy, 14; Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 79.

Meaderville, Butte's Italian enclave.[191] Butte's working- and middle-class homes were small cottages built in close proximity to their neighbors. Few had yards, both for lack of space and the deleterious impact of mine pollution on the vitality of Butte's greenery.[192] The West Side was home to Butte's wealthy residents and their stylish homes.[193] Many Victorian, Queen Anne, and craftsman bungalows still stand on the West Side.

Ethnic enclaves allowed recent immigrants to the United States to continue Old World habits and speak their native languages. Miners tended to follow their fellow countrymen underground to work in mines with compatriots.[194] Women and men alike could find lodging, church services, and businesses that did not require their patrons learn English.[195] Old mine signage warning "No Smoking!" in seventeen different languages reveals the scope of linguistic differences underground.[196] Second-generation Butte residents might speak Old World languages at home and English in school.[197] Agnes Cramer noted in an interview with historian Mary Murphy that she did not know how to speak English when she began grade school in Butte, but only knew her parents' native Finnish.[198] Cramer's mother, Katy, refused to learn English fluently, insisting she would forget how to speak Finnish if she learned the new language.[199] Neighborhoods had their

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[191] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 14; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 65–66.
[192] Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 85.
[193] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 12.
[194] Murphy, 17; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 28–29.
[195] Agnes Cramer, Butte Oral History Collection, Mary Murphy, Audio, March 28, 1980, OH 098-013, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Archives, University of Montana; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 74.
[196] "Danger No Smoking."
[197] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 74.
[198] Mary Murphy, Agnes Cramer, March 28, 1980, Butte Oral History Collection, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Archives, University of Montana.
[199] Murphy; United States Census Bureau, "Statistics for Montana."

own churches, bars, grocers, boarding houses, and halls for community organizations.[200] Butte was overwhelmingly Catholic, but had in total over 40 churches at its population peak in the 1910s, including Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal, and Jewish houses of worship.[201] In 1917, Butte had nine Catholic churches: that the several parishes were in different neighborhoods meant they catered to differing populations.[202] For example, St. Helena's Church in Meaderville was the Italian Catholic parish. Bernice Favilla Maki recalled growing up in McQueen near Holy Savior Church, but having to go to St. Helena's for mass because it was where her family ought to go as Italians.[203] Among Butte's oldest cultural organizations, all founded before 1900, were the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Irish), the Cristoforo Colombo Society (Italian), the Cornish Sons of St. George (English), the Scandinavian Fraternity (Swedish and Norwegian) and the Sons of Herman (German).[204] In some ways, these societies operated similarly to unions, at least to the effect of providing member benefits upon death, as the Cristoforo Colombo Society did into the 1950s.[205] Gathering together in churches and cultural organizations helped maintain cultural practices from outside Butte and forge connections within the city. Churches provided gathering space for families and single

[200] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 12–15.

[201] Murphy, 83; National Park Service, "Shaffer's Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church," accessed November 9, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/places/shaffer-s-chapel-african-methodist-episcopal-church.htm.

[202] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 83.

[203] Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 75.

[204] The Cristoforo Colombo society appears in documents with several different spellings (Cristoforo Colombo, Christophoro Colombo, Christophoro Columbo, Christopher Colombo, Christopher Columbus). I use the spelling that is relevant to the corresponding source when discussing the organization and its events in this report. Murphy, Agnes Cramer, 148.

[205] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 69–70.

people alike, where fraternal organizations catered to Butte's men, miners or otherwise. In a city with plenty of room for vice, these cultural organizations offered an alternative that might keep Butte's mining men out of trouble when they weren't at work.

Workers lived as close to the mines as they could afford.[206] This was, in part, due to migration patterns wherein certain mines became associated with workers from certain countries, so the neighborhoods around the mines grew to reflect an ethno-national population.[207] It was also because of Butte's landscape and climate. Men working underground contended with the often-dramatic temperature change from work on their walks home.[208] Mines tended to be warmer than the surface, with cooler worksites earning names like "Neversweat," for being more comfortable to work in.[209] Butte's climate was and remains often harsh, with long winters, biting winds, and intense sun in the summers.[210] Mines were on "the Hill" in Butte, so a miner had to walk uphill either to get to work or go home, a mile above sea level when on the surface and up to a mile below the surface when working underground. These combined factors meant it was easiest for miners to live close to work, and for single miners to rent rooms in neighborhoods where they might share cultural heritage with their neighbors.

Single men, usually miners, often lived in Butte's boarding houses. In *Wide Open Town,* Brinig's protagonist, John Donnelly, lives in a boarding house until he rents

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[206] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 12.
[207] Murphy, 12.
[208] Murphy, 12–13.
[209] Murphy, 16–17; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 26.
[210] National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, "Local Climatological Data Publication Butte Montana Station 1939-1998," National Centers for Environmental Information, accessed August 24, 2020, https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/IPS/lcd/lcd.html?_page=2&state=MT&stationID=24135&_target2=Next+%3E.

private rooms for himself and Zola when he takes her away from the brothel where she works.[211] The mining population tended to be transient.[212] Single men followed work, so for many Butte was one stop among several. Boarding houses served this transient population, but also on occasion women and children.[213] Women worked in boarding houses doing laundry, cleaning, and cooking for boarders. Agnes Cramer recalled her mother working in the Central House, the Kingston House, and the Belmont House, all boarding houses in Finntown on the East Side.[214] Cramer's mother worked on and off in the boarding houses beginning in 1906, including running and living in the Belmont House with her second husband after her first husband's untimely death due to pneumonia contracted in the course of mining.[215] With a shortage of rooms, privacy was hard to find. Boarding houses allegedly could rent one bed to three different men, each getting his rest for an eight-hour shift.[216] In Cramer's telling, the Finnish boarding houses rented rooms to three men, with two in a bed.[217] One can imagine, through the lens of Brinig's descriptions of Donnelly, the grime, sweat, and fatigue miners carried with them to "their" rented beds. If boarding houses were particularly crowded, or if it was near payday, men entertained themselves with what energy or pocket change they had left in Butte's readily available bars and taverns.

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[211] Brinig, *Wide Open Town*, 4, 115.
[212] Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, 9.
[213] Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 80.
[214] Murphy, Agnes Cramer; Cramer, Agnes Cramer.
[215] Murphy, Agnes Cramer.
[216] Erin Madison, "Gamer's Cafe Serves up Good Food with a Side of History," *The Great Falls Tribune*, July 31, 2015, https://www.greatfallstribune.com/story/life/my-montana/2015/07/22/gamers-cafe-serves-good-food-side-history/30545691/.
[217] Cramer, Agnes Cramer.

Like the mines, many of Butte's bars were all-hours establishments.[218] The M&M Bar on Main Street kept its doors open 24 hours a day from 1890 to 2003.[219] Apparently Butte bar owners would ceremonially dispose of their taverns' keys upon opening because they'd have no need to shut down with Butte's 24-hour clientele.[220] The din of a tavern with its drinking songs and the clinking of glasses, the uproar of a fight and any ensuing damage to property or person was part of Butte's soundscape. Fights happened in the bar or in the street, where horses, carts and buggies, cars, bicycles, stray dogs and cats, and adventurous children may bear witness and contribute to the sounds of Butte's urban grid.

One January 1889 bar fight between Alexander Murray and James Neary tells us bars included the sounds of gambling, in this case chicken fights, and shouting among gamblers. Murray punched Neary when the latter began to berate others gathered at the Boulevard House chicken fight with profanity after he lost $20 on January 1, 1899. Neary wailed as he was hit. A few minutes later he followed Murray away from the fights, into the bar room, where Neary stabbed Murray. A child retrieved the weapon. Murray died a few days later and Neary was later put on trial. Testimony by John Eakin and John Fox, identified as brickmakers, and Edward Bishop, a bartender at the Boulevard House, indicate that Murray laughed after hitting Neary the first time, was drinking a beer when

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[218] Barbara LaBoe, "The M&M: No Locks on the Doors, Other Bar Tales," *The Montana Standard*, April 15, 2003, https://mtstandard.com/news/local/the-m-m-no-locks-on-the-doors-other-bar-tales/article_1125c1e3-796b-5722-a936-155d012a63be.html.

[219] Mike Smith, "Butte's M&M Bar Reopens This Friday," *The Montana Standard*, November 30, 2015, https://mtstandard.com/news/local/buttes-m-m-bar-reopens-this-friday/article_4c0d6cde-5745-56fa-9c91-c4c1bc89e648.html; LaBoe, "The M&M: No Locks on the Doors, Other Bar Tales."

[220] LaBoe, "The M&M: No Locks on the Doors, Other Bar Tales."

Neary stabbed him, and that more than 20 men witnessed the fight. The Murray-Neary altercation reveals a particularly noisy (and likely smelly) form of gambling, the vocal and physical interactions between men, and the cast of characters in a turn-of-the-century saloon–working men, gamblers, barkeeps, and children–who were all male. Though the story does not include descriptors of smell, chickens, beer, working men, foot traffic, and blood all have aromas. Imagining these smells does not sully the historical record but enhances our sense of historical place.[221]

The presence of a child at the Neary-Murray bar fight might at first seem novel or inappropriate, but childhood was an evolving idea in the twentieth century and Butte was a landscape where childhood was precarious. Children found adventure in Butte's streets, slag heaps, mine yards, and what few parks peppered their neighborhoods.[222] One 1909 photo shows children playing in an ore dump in Butte.[223] Children served as errand-runners and translators, going to the grocery store for food or picking up a bucket of beer from the bar.[224] Children might also be sent by their mothers to cut their fathers off before they could get to the saloons on payday.[225] This could mean confronting a parent about tight finances or harmful drinking practices, or getting a chance to go into a bar underage, where one might be treated to a soda pop or harder beverage.[226] Children did

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[221] "The Neary Trial," *Daily Inter Mountain*, May 17, 1899, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/daily-inter-mountain-may-17-1899-p-8/.

[222] Janet L. Finn, *Mining Childhood: Growing Up in Butte, Montana, 1900-1960* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2012), 135; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 33.

[223] I encountered stray dogs and gaggle of unsupervised kids playing on dirt roads while driving through Centerville in June 2020, much like one might have found a century before. Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 69.

[224] Finn, 83.

[225] Finn, 95.

[226] Finn, 91.

not escape family violence, street violence, or the volatility of Butte's copper economy. At the same time, the early 20th century marked a shift away from child labor toward more universal education, and a documented concern by city fathers and charitable organizations alike to provide children with playspaces. A great deal of scholarship deals with the emergence of childhood in the twentieth century as advocacy and policy removed children from wage labor and made school mandatory.[227] This study focuses on playscapes less as a sphere developed solely for children but rather as a socio-environmental set of structures created an maintained by power structures that also mediated Butte's landscape and workscape.

[227] Robert Bremner, ed., *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); Anna Davi, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); Peter Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children: Social Services for Homeless Children, 1830-1930* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1989); Allison James and Adrian L. James, *Constructive Childhood: Theory, Policy, and Social Practice.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Duncan Lindsay, *The Welfare of Children*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); David MacLeod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne, 1998); Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2004); Judith Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child: Governing America's Young in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Figure 9 "Young Prospectors" circa 1909, in Janet Finn, Mining Childhood: Growing Up in Butte, Montana, 1900-1960 (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2012), 69.

PLAYSCAPES

Playscapes are not exclusively for the young, but playgrounds and parks are important markers in the leisure landscape. The previous section noted the makeshift playspaces Butte's children found in ore dumps. The City of Butte's first records of its Council's Parks and Playgrounds Committee reflect the importance of corporate welfare in the community, when in July 1915 the Committee was concerned with hiring the Director of Athletics from Columbia Gardens to attend to the City's public parks.[228] The Committee's efforts to hire a parks manager indicates that the city had municipal parks prior to July 1915, confirmed by the same report's recommendation that the City of Butte

[228] Butte City Council Parks and Playgrounds Committee, "Report of Playground Committee," July 2, 1915, in "Reports of the Parks and Playgrounds Committee, 1916-1969," Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

purchase a slide and an eight-chair swing for the "Play-grounds." That year, the City also sought to build a warming house at the skating rink at Clark's Park, another property of William Andrews Clark.[229] City officials and copper companies were both invested in providing certain amenities to Butte's residents beyond the essential mining, commercial, and transportation infrastructure.

This may have been in part to stem what was otherwise dangerous play for children in Butte. Sociologist Janet Finn notes that, "While formal parks and playgrounds were scarce, gangs of children took to the streets and mine yards, creating their own play spaces."[230] Finn describes child deaths and injuries due to explosions, electrocutions, and other grisly accidents.[231] In Butte, childhood was at once an emergent idea in the twentieth century and a phase of life like any other, because the misfortunes and dangers of mining indiscriminately impacted residents of Butte.[232] While certain spaces, like schools, were certainly for children, parks like Columbia Gardens were meant to serve children and adults alike.

Columbia Gardens was the most elaborate and beloved park in Butte. It was also controlled by mining companies for 74 years. The Gardens began as a site for drinking, theater, music, and dance, advertised to working people as a place to indulge. [233]

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[229] Butte City Council Parks and Playgrounds Committee, "Report of PlayGround Comm 11/17/15," November 17, 1915 in "Reports of the Parks and Playgrounds Committee, 1916-1969," Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[230] Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 25.

[231] Finn, 152–57.

[232] Finn, *Mining Childhood*.

[233] "Columbia Garden," *Butte Semi Weekly Miner*, July 30, 1884, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-semi-weekly-miner-jul-30-1884-p-1/; "Columbia Garden," *Butte Semi*

Inconsistent transportation service in the 1880s prevented the Gardens' success under the management of W.W. Adams and John Eddy, entertainment entrepreneurs. In 1889, copper king and recently ousted U.S. Senator William Andrews Clark purchased the site from Adams and Eddy and began the long reign of copper over the Gardens. Clark poured over $100,000 into park improvements between 1899 and 1902, including installation of a roller coaster, construction of an animal menagerie and a greenhouse, and planting extensive gardens of pansies.[234] Clark also added a baseball grandstand and a dance pavilion. Consistent streetcar service from the Clark owned Butte Electric Railway Company was key to the renovated park's success as a gathering place for Butte residents of all ages. Though a public space, Columbia Gardens was ultimately a company park.[235]

Promotional material from Clark's Columbia Gardens claimed he invested in the park because he was disappointed to see children playing in Butte's dirt roads.[236] Clark had a history of providing for Butte's needy children. He had a son who died at age 16, after whom he named the Paul Clark Home for children.[237] However, Clark invested in the Gardens during the most controversial years of his political career, and likely saw the

Weekly Miner, August 20, 1884, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-semi-weekly-miner-aug-20-1884-p-1/.

[234] Pat Kearney, *Butte's Pride – the Columbia Gardens* (Skyhigh Communications, 1994), 9.

[235] Collective myth claims Columbia Gardens was Clark's gift to the people of Butte but given that Clark went on to plan the city of Clarkdale, Arizona, a proper company town planned to encourage employee efficiency, it seems likely the Columbia Gardens was part good public relations, part planning experiment. Clarkdale was clearly a company town, planned by Clark, built for Clark's Arizona mining interests, populated only by his employees and their families, owned by Clark, and named for Clark. Helen Peterson, "Clarkdale, Arizona: Built Environment, Social Order, and the City Beautiful Movement, 1913-1920," *The Journal of Arizona History,* Vol. 49, No. 1 (spring 2008).

[236] Adolph H. Heilbronner, "Sights and Scenes and a Brief History of Columbia Gardens, Butte's Only Pleasure Resort" (Butte, MT: Butte Miner Co., 1902).

[237] Finn, *Mining Childhood*, 113–14.

political savvy in his grand investment in Butte. City myth claimed Clark left the Gardens to the people of Butte as a gift upon his death. No record of such intention has yet been found.[238] In Clark's will, he left his Montana properties to his estate.[239] His heirs sold Clark's Montana properties, including the Gardens, to the Anaconda Company.[240] The Company operated the Gardens until 1973. The Gardens closed because of financial loss and mining interests in the open-pit mining era.[241] In one of Butte's more tragic and dramatic episodes, the beloved park burned to the ground in November of 1973.[242] Official reports deemed the fire an electrical accident, but there remains considerable suspicion that the fire was arson, potentially committed by ACM.[243] Regardless of how the Gardens were lost, the

Figure 10 Columbia Gardens circa 1907, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, in "Photos: A look back at Butte's iconic Columbia Gardens," the Montana Standard, October 25, 2020, https://mtstandard.com/news/local/history/photos-a-look-back-at-buttes-iconic-columbia-gardens/collection_28a2eec6-8201-5dd6-a063-f2e1a3ffdebc.html

238 Donna Worth, Interview of Leo Bennetts for StoryCorps (audio), July 15, 2007, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

239 Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, Vertical Files, William Andrews Clark (Estate, Will, Probate), VF 0190.032.1.

240 Kearney, *Butte's Pride – the Columbia Gardens*, 77,

241 Kearney, 85-89.

242 Kearney, 90.

243 "No arson in Columbia Gardens blaze," *The Montana Standard*, November 14, 1973, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

trauma of losing the park through its destruction imbued Columbia Gardens with meaning that lasts to the present, even as those who remember its heyday have passed.

Columbia Gardens was important to Butte's playscape in that heyday because it was outside the confines of Butte's delineated neighborhoods and offered a shared space to escape the sensory evidence of the industrial city. In early advertising material, the Butte Electric Railway Company said of the Gardens,

> Visitors to Butte, who look at the grim-faced city, set against the blinding sunlight, never expect that, tucked away in the breast of a mountain, is the fairy land where birds sing and where music enlivens the splendid indolence of a sunlit afternoon–where trees whisper as they did back in the childhood home, and where there are no noises but the laughter of children or the tapping of dancing feet.[244]

The Gardens included a roller coaster, merry-go-round, greenhouse, and zoo by 1901. The buildings, which included a grandstand, arcade, dance pavilion, and the greenhouse, were white, modified neo-classical structures evocative of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Much like in contrasts drawn between the White City of the Columbian Exposition and industrial Chicago, the Columbia Gardens were a "veritable dream of loveliness" juxtaposed against Butte.[245]

The Gardens' importance as a social gathering place for not only children but also adults is evident through the frequent use of the Gardens by cultural organizations, societies, and the copper companies for events dating from the 1880s to the 1970s. Arbor Day, Mother's Day, Miner's Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day were all occasions

[244] Butte Electric Railway Company, "Beautiful Columbia Gardens: The Far-Famed Pleasure Resort of Butte," ca 1901, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[245] Butte Electric Railway Company.

for well-attended events at the Gardens, including food, music, and dancing. The earliest newspaper advertisement for renting Columbia Gardens for picnics, dancing, or society celebrations appeared in the *Butte Daily Miner* and the *Butte Semi Weekly Miner* on August 20, 1884, when Eddy and Adams managed the site.[246] On June 21, 1885, the Emmet Guard, an Irish-American society, hosted an annual picnic, with a shooting contest against the Union Guard, popularity contests for young ladies and mine foremen, a football match between Walkerville and Butte teams, and a series of races for adults and children, all resulting in prizes ranging from a gold medal to small monetary prizes.[247] The Butte Mines Band, then the Meaderville Band, began playing at the Gardens in the 1890s, and continued to play engagements there until 1950.[248] In the twentieth century the slate of events hosted at the Gardens expanded to include political rallies and speeches, including by Jeanette Rankin, the first woman elected to Congress and Representative of Montana, as well as football and baseball games, and high school proms, the last of which took place in Spring 1973.[249] The Columbia Gardens touched lives in Butte across generational and cultural lines for almost a century.

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[246] "Columbia Gardens," *Butte Daily Miner*, August 20, 1884, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-miner-aug-20-1884-p-1/; "Columbia Garden," July 30, 1884.

[247] "First Annual Picnic! Of the Emmet Guard!," *Butte Daily Miner*, June 6, 1885, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-miner-jun-06-1885-p-4/.

[248] Boston and Montana Band, "Treasurer of the B&M Band, 1894-1913," Samuel Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives; "Program Given for Sunday Picnic Concert," *The Montana Standard*, July 2, 1950, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/montana-standard-jul-02-1950-p-2/.

[249] Butte-Silver Bow Archives, Vertical Files, Columbia Gardens, VF 1040; Jeannette Rankin, "Speech at Columbia Gardens," August 18, 1917, MC1075, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives; Pat Kearney, *Butte's Pride - The Columbia Gardens* (Butte, MT: Skyhigh Communications, 1994).

The Columbia Gardens amusement park serves as one lens into the conditions of Butte's economy, environment, and identity. The confluence of these aspects of life and work in Butte illustrate power and social structures that serve as a framework for the city's collective memory and urban footprint. It connects the legacies of extractive resource industry and community formation, with work, leisure, and environment as central components of community. Columbia Gardens, more than most residents of Butte, witnessed the beginnings of Butte's growth from copper mining in the 1880s, reached its peak in the early twentieth century, and marked the industry's decline in the 1970s.

CONCLUSION

The several studyscapes described here form the physical and sensory surroundings of daily life in twentieth-century Butte. Present day Butte is affected by the echoes, evolution, and loss of these landscapes. Atlantic Richfield Company and Montana Resources Inc. work on the cleanup of decades of mining waste, now part of one of the nation's largest Superfund sites. Entire neighborhoods–Meaderville and McQueen–are gone, as is Columbia Gardens. Those losses remain sore in public memory.

Public memory and socio-environmental character are critical frameworks for studying Butte. A socio-environmental perspective of Butte enriches historical place with memory and an awareness of change that disrupts staid assumptions about the city. These frameworks bring light to the tension between company control and unionizing spirit, as is evident in the next chapter.

The origins of place and power in Butte foreshadow the tensions between capital and labor. Retracing Butte's origins as a physical place and a sensory environment reveals silences and myths in its public memory. Public memory may focus on important actors like Daly, Clark, or ACM, but people in community create and sustain the stories that characterize Butte. This chapter described Butte's origin and landscapes as foundations. The following chapters will show how leisure activities and spaces reflected the landscapes and tensions of industry, and how work, life, play, and death were mediated by copper.

Chapter Three: Unionism and Culture

It can be easy to pigeon-hole people in Butte into groups based on profession, nationality, political leaning, employer, and so on, but as is typical of people and the places they create, lives were much more complicated than that. The Butte Mines Band was a site of intersecting identities. The all-male ensemble was made up of men from different backgrounds. Though many of them were English immigrants, there were Italians, Croatians, Irish, and Americans among their ranks. Many were miners, and also members of multiple unions: one for their work, and one for their musicianship. The confluence of nationalities, identities of working men who were also musicians, and of union membership in multiple collective bargaining bodies offers a window into the complex social fabric of Butte and the formation of culture outside the mining industry by that industry.[250]

The *Butte Inter Mountain* noted upon Henry "Harry" N. Thomas's death in 1902 that he was a dues-paying man of both the Musicians' and Miners' unions in Butte.[251] Thomas immigrated to the United States from England in 1857 and married a Canadian immigrant of Irish heritage, Emily, in 1865.[252] He was a copper miner in Butte, a member

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[250] Accounting for last name origin and seeking several members' identities in Census records provides background on nationalities of musicians.

[251] "Bands March to Honor the Departed Musician," *The Butte Inter Mountain*, October 2, 1902, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/the-butte-inter-mountain-oct-02-1902-p-7/.

[252] "Bands March to Honor the Departed Musician"; *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.*, vol. Butte Ward 3, Silver Bow, Montana; Page: 7; Enumeration District: 0109; FHL microfilm: 1240914 (Washington, D.C.: United States of America Bureau of the Census, 1900), https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/imageviewer/collections/7602/images/4120364_00782?backlabel=ReturnSearchResults&queryId=a020682754f80ab6e6be51a674b11b86&pId=44852419; "Harry N. Thomas," Find A Grave, September 10, 2007, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/21480053/harry-n.-thomas.

of the International Order of Odd Fellows, Ridley Lodge, and played in the Boston and Montana Band.[253] His wife found him dead on the morning of September 30, 1902. The coroner determined Thomas died from heart failure. Both the Boston and Montana Band and the Montana State Band marched at his funeral. Butte Mines Band members were often union men like Harry Thomas. As a member band of Local 241 of the American Federation of Musicians, the Butte Mines Band required its performers to join the Musicians' Union. To fail to do so would render the Mines Band in violation of the rules of the Union.[254] Few men could work as musicians full time, so this made it likely that Mines Band members belonged to multiple unions–the Musician's Union and their professional trade union, like the Miners' Union.

Extensive records kept by the Mines Band and its union, Local 241 of the American Federation of Musicians, reveal how unionism influenced Butte culture beyond the mining industry. Meeting minutes for the Mines Band reveal membership numbers, rehearsal and event logistics, payments to and from the band, grievances, illnesses, and deaths. Like any other unionized organization, the Mines Band recorded in great detail what it expected of members and what it provided to those members. Meticulous attendance records combined with accounting ledgers ensured accurate payment to musicians for the engagements where they performed. Attendance records also reflect members' commitment to the group, their work schedules, and reasons for leaving the

[253] "Bands March to Honor the Departed Musician."

[254] The Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union Local No. 241 American Federation of Musicians, "Official Directory Price List and Instrumentation."

band. Contracts provide official records of engagements, while programs, tickets, and ephemera fill in details about the Band's performances. The documents left behind by Butte's musicians indicate Butte's professional ensembles were organized to an extent not often associated with the mining west.

Unionized musicians in Butte were part of a national story for unions generally and for organized musicians.[255] The local Butte Musician's Mutual Protective Union organized initially under the National League of Musicians of the United States, also a local of the Western Labor Union.[256] Sometime in the 1890s the group reorganized under the American Federation of Musicians.[257] Joining the AFM aligned the Butte Musicians' Union with the American Federation of Labor, and a much larger network of unions.[258] Correspondence reveals the Butte Musicians' Union frequently communicated with the national AFM President in New York City and with other AFM Locals around the country.[259] AFM locals wrote to each other for fundraising, in anticipation of members moving to different locals' jurisdictions, and to coordinate travel and performances

[255] George Seltzer, *Music Matters: The Performer and the American Federation of Musicians* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1989), 7-8.

[256] George W. Pierce to Samuel H. Treloar and the Boston and Montana Band, June 28, 1900, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[257] Documents consulted in the Samuel Treloar Collection at the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives did not reveal a precise date for this change, however the use of Union stationery reveals a shift from the National League of Musicians of the United States Local 39 to the American Federation of Musicians Local 41.

[258] American Federation of Musicians stationery identifies the union's parent organization as the American Federation of Labor. American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[259] Earl C. Simmons, Secretary Local 241 AFM, and Board of Directors, to Joseph N. Weber, President AFM, February 18, 1930, Correspondence 1930s, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

outside of their home jurisdictions. The Butte Mines Band received national attention for their tours and successes in competitions.

The Butte Mines Band and the Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union, the local chapter of the American Federation of Musicians, show how Butte's leisure reflected the tension between commercial and collective bargaining interests. The Butte Mines Band, a member organization of a local union under a national organization, exemplifies both the unionizing spirit of Butte and the entrenchment of mining company interests. Band members had to be union members in the local musicians' union. Many members were also miners who belonged to trade unions based on their industrial labor. The Band also relied on the financial support of Butte's copper companies. In short, Butte musicians' unionism and the copper collar were mutually constitutive facets of Butte's social tapestry. The Mines Band helped maintain copper companies' foothold in influencing social behavior, so the copper companies maintained the band, despite its union involvement.

The importance of unionism to the spirit of Butte shows an expectation that labor had dignity for the people there, regardless of profession. The power of Butte's several unions may have come more from their solidarity and acceptance than actual bargaining accomplishments. The Butte Mines Band and the Musicians' Union were deeply protectionist of musical labor in the city by promoting local musicians over traveling ones, but venues and organizations in the city still booked outside performers against the

protestation of local musicians.[260] The significance of Butte's spirit of unionism can only be understood in the broader context of its socio-environment around capital and labor. This chapter outlines the formation of unionism in Butte, the birth of organized professional musicianship in the city, and the confluence of corporate interest, unionizing impulse, and culture formation in the Butte Mines Bands' engagements that celebrated both life and death.

UNIONISM IN BUTTE: WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS LOCAL #1

Butte is often called the "Gibraltar of Unionism," for its extensive union activity and identity in the region as an industrial city fighting back against the capital that built it.[261] Butte's earliest miners' union formed in 1878.[262] One of the most important accomplishments and signals of union power in Butte was the "closed shop" deal the Butte Miners' Union won in 1885.[263] The closed shop system in Butte meant that all mining hires had to be union members. The Western Federation of Miners (WFM) formed in Butte in May 1893.[264] Butte's local was WFM #1.[265] Forty delegates

[260] Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union, "Resolved: Butte Musicians to Furnish Music for Butte, NO MORE IMPORTATIONS!," December 16, 1931, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[261] The term "Gibraltar of Unionism" is used widely to describe Butte, both in academic writing and journalism. A few examples in academic writing are: Calvert, *The Gibraltar*; Murphy, *Mining Cultures*, xiii; Punke, *Fire and Brimstone*, 137; Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 22.

[262] Punke, *Fire and Brimstone*, 137.

[263] Punke, 137.

[264] Philpott, "Lessons of Leadville," 22.

[265] Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library, "Western Federation of Miners and International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Records on Microfilm," accessed November 13, 2020, https://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/KCL05412mf.html; Philpott, "Lessons of Leadville"; Calvert, *The Gibraltar*; Laurie Mercier, *Anaconda: Labor, Community, and Culture in Montana's Smelter City* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

represented fifteen mining camps in the American West.[266] The occasion both emphasized Butte's importance to mining in the American West and enshrined the city as a place that was central to unionism.

The Western Federation was rather conservative, as far as unions go, but those with more radical aspirations also organized in Butte. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), whose members were known as "wobblies," sought to recruit skilled and unskilled workers of every background to build a new world order with workers at the top. The IWW was vehemently socialist and focused on agitation against capitalists, perhaps to the distraction of the goal of building a coalition of workers.[267] Butte attracted one of the IWW's most well-traveled organizers, Frank Little, who came to the city without orders from the IWW and in spite of illness and injury.[268] Little was lynched in Butte in 1917 under mysterious circumstances, with the vigilante sign "3-7-77" written on a note pinned to his mostly naked body hanging above a railroad trestle.[269] His tombstone reads,

Frank Little
1879-1917
SLAIN BY CAPITALIST INTERESTS
FOR ORGANIZING AND INSPIRING
HIS FELLOW MEN[270]

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[266] Philpott, "Lessons of Leadville," 22.

[267] Punke, *Fire and Brimstone*, 217.

[268] Dundas et. al, "Death in the West," Season 1: The Murder of Frank Little, Episode 6: The Desert, November 10, 2020, https://deathinthewestpod.com/?powerpress_pinw=1108-podcast.

[269] Season 1 of the podcast, "Death in the West," is dedicated to investigating the murder of Frank Little, and is the work of historian Leif Frederickson, journalist Erika Frederickson, author Chad Dundas, and journalist and author Zach Dundas. Chad Dundas, Leif Frederickson, Erika Frederickson, and Chad Dundas, "Death in the West," Season 1: The Murder of Frank Little, 2020, https://deathinthewestpod.com/. Jane Little Botkin, *Frank Little and the IWW: The Blood That Stained an American Family* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 292.

[270] Visit to Mountain View Cemetery, Butte, MT, July 9, 2020.

Though not indicative of a universal politic in Butte, Little retains a prominent place in Butte's lore. His murder established a focal point for worker-company tensions and suspicion of authority in the city's collective memory.

The importance of unionism in Butte points to the temporal and geographic position of the city as it came of age. Unionism was so important to Butte because it was a mining town in the American West when workers' organizations entered their heyday in the U.S. Men and women alike formed unions to represent their many trades, including sewing, teaching, and musicianship, among other professions. Michael Punke writes, "Butte, it seemed had a union for everything," including

> construction workers, brewers, beer wagon drivers, blacksmiths, jewelers, smeltermen, engineers, horseshoers, hackmen, and teamsters, not to mention separate unions for musicians, theatrical stage employers, and theatrical ushers. In Butte the chimney sweeps–both of them–had their own union. Even the *unions* had a union–an umbrella group known as the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly.[271]

The activity of Butte's several unions indicate that workers saw value in their labor. This pattern also suggests workers saw value in creating community among other workers and professionals to create standards across employment. That so many tradespeople established unions shows that people in Butte expected union organizing by workers as a normal course of action. Rather than an exception, unionism was the rule. The several unions met under the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council. Solidarity among union men

[271] Punke, *Fire and Brimstone*, 137.

and women urged everyone in Butte to buy union.[272] The high rate of European immigration to Butte and massive investment of capital in Butte's industry and infrastructure fanned the flames of unionism and suspicion of corporate control..[273]

Unionism characterized suspicion beyond corporate interests, too. Union workers distrusted scab laborers, who break strikes. Unions also have a long history of racial discrimination, primarily against Black and Asian laborers. Butte was no exception. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Blacks in Butte were banned from working in the mines until 1942 and thus largely relegated to service positions.[274] Chinese in Butte mostly worked in Chinese-owned businesses, such as laundries, restaurants, drug stores, and produce gardens.[275] Butte earned a reputation as defensive, prone to fighting, and wary of outsiders.

Yet, Butte is more properly characterized by the strength of capital. The "Copper Collar" held Butte–among the industry's foci in Michigan, Arizona, Mexico, and Chile–for a century.[276] While unionism shaped certain behaviors, the reaction to unionism by

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[272] Letterhead, American Federation of Musicians Local 241, Correspondence 1930s, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[273] Informed by Episodes 9-13 of K. Ross Toole's lectures in Montana History, respectively "That Precious Metal Copper," "The International Copper Cartel," "The War of the Copper Kings," "The Battle Escalates," and "The Amalgamated Copper Trust." K. Ross Toole's Montana, *Montanans for Quality Television (MQTV)*, 1985, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Archives and Special Collections at the University of Montana, https://scholarworks.umt.edu/toolesmontana/.

[274] National Park Service, "Shaffer's Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church."

[275] The Vertical Files on Chinese in Butte at the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives includes clippings and hand-written notes on the addresses and professions of Butte's Chinese population. Sanborn maps also reveal locations of Chinese-owned laundries, drug stores, doctors, and restaurants. Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, Vertical Files, Ethnic Groups/Chinese, VF1059-VF1063; Sanborn Map Company, Butte, Silver Bow, 1901, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[276] Janet L. Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community From Butte to Chuquicamata* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008). Toole, "The International Copper Cartel"; Toole, *Twentieth Century Montana: A State of Extremes*.

capital shaped Butte's cultural reality. Butte had a socialist mayor, Lewis J. Duncan, but, after a failed assassination attempt, he was ousted by copper interests that successfully accused him of bungling the aftermath of a violent bombing at Miners' Union Hall in 1914.[277] Copper companies' economic influence bought political influence and ensured a foothold in nearly every aspect of Butte. This study addresses in part two aspects of copper's mediation of local cultural interests through the Columbia Gardens and the Mines Band. Both were under control of the copper companies for decades, but the Gardens and the Band challenge expectations of what company-controlled social institutions might be. Part of this is a strong association with union activity.

The actual power of Butte's unions remains up for debate. Punke argues that unionism lost its power in Butte by 1906, when the Anaconda Company and Standard Oil Company successfully consolidated control of most of Butte's mining.[278] The Miners' Union no longer had a closed shop and the huge international corporations taking over Butte overpowered a waning sense of collective action through mass firings and backlash against union members and socialists.[279] Collective bargaining efforts between 1914 and 1933 ultimately failed.[280] Despite these failures, unionism remains a part of Butte's character because of the emphasis on its strength in community identity. Butte remains a stronghold for Montana Democrats, identified as a place where unionism dominates the

[277] Punke, *Fire and Brimstone*; Kelley Christensen, "Lewis J. Duncan, Butte's Socialist Mayor," *The Montana Standard*, October 12, 2014, https://mtstandard.com/news/local/lewis-j-duncan-buttes-socialist-mayor/article_77f3176c-126d-520a-aa0b-4a70d50604db.html.

[278] Punke, *Fire and Brimstone*, 84–85.

[279] Punke, 137–44.

[280] Punke, 257.

political outlook.[281] Barack Obama even campaigned in Butte, including attending the annual Fourth of July parade in 2008 with his family.[282]

Though unions' real bargaining power in Butte may have waned early in the twentieth century, as Punke argues, its cultural power lingered and remains. Unions' efficacy between 1914-1933 does not mean unionism in Butte died during that time. Efforts to revive unions suggest the staying power of the *idea* of unions, despite the inability of unions to enact meaningful change in the post-war era[283] Organizing failures point to not only a weakened power in collective bargaining but also to the outsized power of the ACM Co. and Standard Oil. Those companies had far more capital than the several locally owned mines that operated during the late nineteenth century when Butte was a union center. Whether or not the unions could successfully bargain did not change Butte's cultural roots in a tradition of pride in work, solidarity among trades, and a healthy suspicion of corporate interests.

The accomplishments of unionism and its imprint on Butte's culture is also shown through several forms of death benefits administered there. Death benefits were important in Butte because it was a dangerous city where wage earning, precious metal extraction,

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[281] Kevin Robillard, "'I Don't Think They Can Beat Who I Am,'" *Politico*, April 18, 2018, https://www.politico.com/story/2018/04/18/jon-tester-montana-democrat-senate-531524; McLaughlin, "A Once-Powerful Montana Mining Town Warily Awaits Final Cleanup of Its Toxic Past."

[282] In the interest of disclosure, and home state pride, my grandparents sat with the Obamas on July 4, 2008 during the Fourth of July parade, appearing on the front page of *The Missoulian*. Mike Dennison, "Obamas Hit the Town: Butte Holiday Visit Shows Democrat Gunning Hard for Montana," *The Missoulian*, July 5, 2008, sec. A, https://missoulian.com/news/obamas-hit-the-town-butte-holiday-visit-shows-democrat-gunning-hard-for-montana/article_5d97e97c-41d8-53e0-baaf-f468c688920c.html.

[283] Punke, 257; Dundas et. al, "Death in the West," Season 1: The Murder of Frank Little, Episode 5: The Message (October 27, 2020) and Episode 6: The Desert (November 10, 2020), https://deathinthewestpod.com/episodes.

and physical harm were part of the workscape. Widows Pensions, court ordered benefits administered by the County Board of Welfare, in Butte date back to 1887.[284] Funeral director records indicate that in the 1920s unions also contracted with funeral homes to be able to help furnish affordable burials for deceased members.[285] Organizations like the Cristoforo Colombo Society and the Butte Mines Band offered benefits to their members' survivors, including small cash amounts.[286] The Cristoforo Colombo Society had its own funeral plot, where Mines Band member Benedetto Bonino was buried in 1920.[287] State laws increasingly put the burden of financial compensation in death onto the Anaconda Company in the mid-twentieth century.[288] Myron Brinig alluded to this practice in *Wide Open Town,* when he described the circumstances of a widow, Mrs. Costello, whose husband's funeral was paid for by "the Company," in the fictional town of Silver Bow based on Butte.[289] Death was a site where mining companies, unions, and cultural organizations defined social practices and assisted Butte's survivors. For some, those social practices included hiring musicians.

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[284] County Auditor, Silver Bow County Auditor's Records, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, GR.AU.SB.002.001.004 https://buttearchives.pastperfectonline.com/archive/DF778BB4-AABB-47FE-8334-779335490510.

[285] McGlashan, "Caring for the Dead," 44.

[286] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 69–70. Boston and Montana Band Meeting Minutes, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[287] "Funeral Notice," *The Butte Daily Bulletin*, January 2, 1920, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/the-butte-daily-bulletin-jan-02-1920-p-3/.

[288] Leech, *The City That Ate Itself*, 69–70.

[289] Brinig, *Wide Open Town*, 4.

SAM TRELOAR, THE BUTTE MUSICIANS' ASSOCIATION, AND THE MINES BAND

Butte's musicians and their union were largely defined by one outstanding character: Samuel Henry Treloar. Treloar founded the Meaderville Band in 1887 and directed the group until 1948, when it was the Butte Mines Band.[290] He was a public figure in his own right, serving Butte as a legislator in the Montana House of Representatives from 1919-1923.[291] Upon his death in 1951, the *Montana Standard* declared, "(Treloar's) contribution to the cultural life of the Mining City was infinitely great, perhaps immeasurable. There is no telling how many people were inspired by his music, but surely they must number in the tens of thousands."[292] Treloar defined much

[290] Multiple newspaper articles, including anniversary commemorations and Treloar's obituary indicate the 1887 start date for the Meaderville Band. David Reynolds also uses this date in the *Journal of Band Research.* However, the November 30, 1884 issue of the *Butte Daily Miner* included in its local news an announcement of a social dance hosted by the Meaderville Band. On April 21, 1885, the *Miner* announced the Meaderville Band Association held a ball where the group hired a string ensemble to play. These instances of "the Meaderville Band" and "the Meaderville Band Association" appearing in the newspaper raise questions about the start date of the Meaderville Band that became the Boston & Montana, Anaconda Copper Mines, and Butte Mines Bands, successively. Given the attention and certainty given to the 1887 start date for Treloar's organization, I am inclined to surmise that either the Meaderville Band was not formally organized until 1887 and did not provide the benefits nor require the dues and uniforms required in later years, or that another group used the name "the Meaderville Band." In the band's own advertisements, letterhead, and records, the 1887 start date holds importance, which, for the men who played in the 20th century, was likely satisfactory. "Butte's Famous Mines Band Making Preparations To Observe Forty-First Anniversary of Birth"; "Sam Treloar Organized Famous B and M Band Here in 1887"; "Sam Treloar Is Called by Death," *The Montana Standard*, February 9, 1951, Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-montana-standard-feb-09-1951-p-1/; "Sam Treloar," *The Montana Standard*, February 11, 1951, Sunday Morning edition, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-montana-standard-feb-11-1951-p-4/; Reynolds, "Samuel Henry Treloar and the Butte Mines Band"; "Local News," *Butte Daily Miner*, November 30, 1884, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-miner-nov-30-1884-p-4/; "Meaderville Band Ball," *Butte Daily Miner*, April 21, 1885, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-miner-apr-21-1885-p-4/.

[291] Reynolds, "Samuel Henry Treloar and the Butte Mines Band," 72. A number of times in the Butte Mines Band Executive Board Meeting Minutes during Treloar's tenure in the legislature, the Secretary-Treasurer notes that Treloar was away in Helena on Legislature business.

[292] "Sam Treloar."

about the band for over sixty years, based on his background and his relationships with mining.

A Cornish immigrant, Treloar came to the United States in 1884, when he was 18. He began studying music as a child in England, on both violin and trumpet.[293] He worked in tin production in England, then mining in the United States. Before arriving in Butte, he lived briefly in Dakota Territory and Colorado. He rejoined family in Butte, where his father and other relatives had settled.[294] Treloar initially worked for the Boston and Montana Company (B&M Co.), then made his keep in mining investments and performing music.[295] While working for the B&M Co., Treloar appealed to management to organize an industrial band, under the guise that it would help men control their behavior outside of work and become more reliable employees.[296] In December 1887, the 21-year old Treloar

Figure 11 Sam Treloar Caricature circa 1907, republished in the Montana Standard, August 23, 2020, https://mtstandard.com/lifestyles/caricatures-of-butte-men-published-113-years-ago/article_0592d6d0-539a-50a1-8208-939eb5e1c907.html.

[293] Reynolds, "Samuel Henry Treloar and the Butte Mines Band," 71.

[294] Reynolds, 71.

[295] Reynolds, 71.

[296] For band members, it offered an opportunity to make money for their musical talent and could result in better stability at work with Treloar lobbying on their behalf with management. "Butte Mines Band Records, 1913-1954." Butte Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1927, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

finally convened the first meeting of the Meaderville Band at Joseph Ivey's house.[297] The band totaled six members. The Meaderville Band grew and evolved over Treloar's six decades at the helm, typically performing with 20-30 men. In name, it was the Meaderville Band (1887-1891), the Boston & Montana Band (1893-1916), Anaconda Copper Mines Band (1916-1920), and the Butte Mines Band (1920-1951).[298] Treloar also organized the Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union in the 1880s, also called the Butte Musicians' Association (BMA) or the Musicians' Union.

The Musicians' Union was a protectionist effort like any other union. It was difficult to make a living as a full-time musician in the United States in the nineteenth century.[299] Though initially organized as Local 39 of the National League of Musicians of the United States, the Butte Musicians' Association became Local 241 of the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) in the 1890s.[300] Membership in the Musicians' Union helped ensure musicians received fair compensation for their work. The Musicians' Union had around 300 members in 1910 and 250 in 1931.[301] The Musicians' Union maintained a price list for all member ensembles and encouraged performers to always

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297 "Butte Mines Band Records, 1913-1954"; Reynolds, "Samuel Henry Treloar and the Butte Mines Band," 72; "Sam Treloar Organized Famous B and M Band Here in 1887."

298 "Butte's Famous Mines Band Making Preparations To Observe Forty-First Anniversary of Birth"; "Sam Treloar Organized Famous B and M Band Here in 1887"; Reynolds, "Samuel Henry Treloar and the Butte Mines Band"; "Butte's Famous Mines Band Making Preparations To Observe Forty-First Anniversary of Birth"; "Butte Mines Band Records, 1913-1954."; Receipt for housekeeping from Mrs. Griffith, November 3, 1891, Correspondence, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

299 Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 2.

300 The shift from NLM to AFM was part of a national battle between the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Seltzer, 7-8; American Federation of Musicians Local 241 Letterhead, Correspondence files, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

301 The Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union Local No. 241 American Federation of Musicians, "Official Directory Price List and Instrumentation."; American Federation of Musicians Local 241 Correspondence 1930s, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

work with a contract in place.[302] Solidarity with other unions was also important to protecting work in all trades in Butte. The Musicians' Union actively participated in the Trades and Labor Council.[303] Musicians also made commitments to honor other unions' struggles and refuse to break the picket line or otherwise infringe upon collective bargaining. In December 1913 the AFM carried a resolution that no union musician would play at J. Walsh's ice-skating rink because Walsh had unfairly treated the Carpenters' Union.[304] This meant Butte's musicians forfeited any potential earnings from working with Walsh in the name of solidarity with fellow union men.

The other side of ensuring union members played under contract and supported other unions meant punishing members who played in non-union ensembles or calling on other unions to refuse to patronize businesses that did not support the musicians' union. One particularly devious union member was Emma Sievers, who on several occasions played holiday concerts in Anaconda with non-union musicians.[305] The fine in 1920 was $50.00.[306] The Musicians' Union also refused to let members do business with venues who brought in outside, non-union musicians to Butte. In a December 1931 resolution the Musicians' Union claimed "at least 90 percent of the Treveling [sic] orchestras and musicians which have been imported to Butte have unquestionably been a "black-eye"

[302] The Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union Local No. 241 American Federation of Musicians.

[303] American Federation of Musicians Local 241 Meeting Minutes May 1913-July 1917, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[304] American Federation of Musicians Local 241 Meeting Minutes May 1913-July 1917.

[305] American Federation of Musicians Correspondence January 1920, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[306] American Federation of Musicians Correspondence January 1920.

and a total discredit to Butte musicians generally, morally, and professionally."[307] The resolution claimed these musicians left Butte before paying their debts, but after engaging with Butte women, their conduct "nothing less than disgraceful."[308] The Union promised to use every lawful means to prevent outside musicians from playing in Butte without the express consent of the Union. The Union preferred that its members be hired for all musical engagements and that any musicians who traveled to Butte were members of the AFM. The presence of AFM locals in other Montana cities helped the Butte musicians try to enforce this expectation by creating a statewide standard for professional courtesy.[309] Anaconda, Deer Lodge, and Bozeman, all within 100 miles of Butte, each had their own AFM locals.[310] Treloar laid the groundwork for these expectations of professionalism by creating the Musicians' Union.

Treloar was also responsible for establishing the duality of union membership and copper company patronage that shaped the Butte Mines Band for decades. Though no evidence of strife between musicians and copper is yet the subject of any academic study, Treloar negotiated the Butte Mines Band's funding structure in the early 1900s. He worked through the Chamber of Commerce to garner financial backing from the Anaconda Company, William Andrews Clark, and several of Butte's wealthiest merchants.[311] Anaconda contributed the most money, including Treloar's $300 per month

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[307] Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union, "Butte Musicians to Furnish Music for Butte."

[308] Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union.

[309] American Federation of Musicians Local 241 Correspondence 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, American Federation of Musicians Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[310] American Federation of Musicians Local 241 Correspondence 1920s, 1930s, 1940s.

[311] Butte Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1919-1922, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

salary in 1917.[312] The band made money through their engagements, but they needed the copper company funding for maintenance costs in order to ensure the men made money off of their performances and Treloar could devote himself to the group full-time. Attaching financial dependence to a volatile industry could have been one reason to ensure the bands were protected by a union, along with setting pricing standards and offering aid to fellow musicians. The commitment of dominant capital to the public good is also characteristic of turn-of-the-century corporate welfare. Like Clark's furnishing of the Columbia Gardens, the several copper companies' contributions to the Mines Band were an example of a public good for Butte that could best be supplied by the mining industry given their huge economic success. This kind of corporate welfare in substitute of public works and municipal funding again recalls the tension of whether or not to classify Butte as a company town. Perhaps the Mines Band best exemplifies that Butte belonged to the several companies, which the Anaconda Company beat out, but that it also belonged to the unions. Like parasite and host, copper and unions fed on one another (though who was parasite and who was host would certainly depend on who one asked).

[312] Butte Mines Band Cash Journal 1914-1917, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

Figure 12 "Grand Easter Promenade and Ball" poster, circa 1920, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

Many members of the Mines Band, perhaps most, members were miners themselves, who were also union men when it came to their industrial work.[313] On the one hand, this may have reflected that men who wanted to be professional musicians needed more steady full-time work in the mines but given that the mining companies financed the Mines Band, performing with the group was in part an extension of mining employment. Either way, the proclivity to unionize and the desire to make musicianship

[313] Not all members are identifiable in the Census in Butte, in part because some members came and went within a decade and do not appear in Butte during the decennial count. Of those who I have been able to identify, most were miners.

in Butte more stable meant band culture was influenced by mining culture. Band members had to pay dues to both the Band and the Musicians' Union. Though the Musicians' Union had male and female membership, the Mines Band was all-male with the exception of the occasional vocal or piano soloist.[314] Band members earned money for their performances, but they had to first know how to play an instrument, be able to pay union dues, band dues, and a uniform deposit, and consistently attend rehearsals. Some performers in the Musicians' Union may have been able to be full-time musicians, but most Mines Band members needed their mining jobs.

Playing in the Mines Band could even advance a man's employment in the mines. Band membership ensured a man could negotiate dayshift work with his employer.[315] Sam Treloar also took it upon himself to frequently lobby and negotiate on behalf of his musicians when they encountered inconsistent or lost employment. Doing so "maintain[ed] the high merit of the band," for Treloar.[316] Not only did a man have Treloar backing him up to maintain his employment, but mine managers, like F.E. Jaccard of the Anaconda Company, saw miner-musicians as reliable employees if they could show consistent commitment to their "double capacity as workmen and players."[317] Maintaining membership required a relatively stable life in Butte, including financial

[314] The Butte Musicians' Mutual Protective Union Local No. 241 American Federation of Musicians, "Official Directory Price List and Instrumentation."

[315] Anaconda Copper Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1915-1919, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[316] Butte Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1927, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[317] Butte Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1927, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

security. Membership also garnered respect: the Mines Band became a renowned group in Butte and beyond.

Success with performances outside of Butte, both at the state and national levels, helped make the Band a point of local pride for the city. In state engagements were typically in Anaconda, Helena, Missoula, Bozeman, and Deer Lodge. These cities' boosters invited the Band for parades, fairs, and celebrations.[318] The Mines Band performed at band competitions in 1902 in Salt Lake City, 1906 in Denver, and 1909 in Los Angeles at Fraternal Order of Elks' conventions, receiving high praise at each competition.[319] They also played at national political party conventions for both Democrats and Republicans, at worlds' fairs, and on state- and nation-wide tours. The Band performed at the 1896 and 1900 Democratic National Conventions, in Chicago and Kansas City, respectively.[320] Though the Mines Band was able to attend the 1904 St. Louis Exposition and the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon, the Montana committee for the Panama and Pacific International Exposition in 1915 did not budget for the Mines Band to attend and compete in the musical competition at the World

[318] Correspondence files, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[319] "Butte Mines Band Observes Its 60th Anniversary and Honors Sam Treloar, Founder and Director," *The Montana Standard*, August 31, 1947, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-montana-standard-aug-31-1947-p-10/.

[320] "Butte Mines Band Observes Its 60th Anniversary and Honors Sam Treloar, Founder and Director."

Expo that year.[321] The Band also traveled with the sponsorship of the Baghdad Temple of Shriners to Seattle, Portland, and Los Angeles.[322]

The Kansas City trip for the 1900 Democratic Convention was contentious. The Boston and Montana Company did not approve of the Band's performance at the political convention, but the members decided to go regardless. In response to B&M's withholding permission to travel to Kansas City, the Band passed a resolution that all members working for B&M resign their jobs. Such dramatic action was made possible because copper magnate and U.S. Senator William Andrews Clark sponsored the Band's travel to the convention and assured the men he would employ all bandmen upon their return from Kansas City.[323] This example of performers' collective action, dual identities as musicians and miners, political implications, and entanglement between mining companies shows the complexity of the Band's position in Butte society and the influence of the mining industry, both unions and companies, on the organization.

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[321] "Butte Mines Band Observes Its 60th Anniversary and Honors Sam Treloar, Founder and Director"; "Building a Minature City," *Bisbee Daily Review*, April 29, 1905, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024827/1905-04-29/ed-1/seq-1/; "The Famous Boston-Montana Band, of 35 Pieces, Composed Entirely of under-Ground Miners from Butte, Mont., Will Attend the Lewis and Clark Exposition," *The Hood River Glacier*, May 18, 1905, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn97071110/1905-05-18/ed-1/seq-8/.; Letter from Montana Exposition Commission to Anaconda Copper Mines Band, June 9, 1915, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[322] "Butte Mines Band Observes Its 60th Anniversary and Honors Sam Treloar, Founder and Director."

[323] January 26, 1900, Boston and Montana Band Meeting Minutes, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

CELEBRATING LIFE AND DEATH

While the band occasionally traveled, most of the Mines Band's performances were in Butte, where parades, afternoons and evenings at the Columbia Gardens, and funerals were among the Mines Band's most frequent engagements. The Band performed in the annual Fourth of July parade for over sixty years, as well as Elks Club and International Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) parades and events.[324] The Meaderville Band played its first IOOF Parade on April 26, 1888.[325] Cultural organizations often hired the Mines Band for their celebrations, parades, and festivals. As early as the 1890s, the Band played parades and engagements for the Sons of St. George, Christophoro Columbus Society, and the Miners' Union.[326] In the twentieth century, their patrons would grow to include the Croatian Society, Serbian Society, Scandinavian Society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Silver Bow Club, the Masons, the Fraternal Order of Eagles, and the Women's Club in Butte.[327] One can retrace the locations throughout uptown where the Band paraded, where the sound of their marching and playing might have bounded off of buildings and distracted from the hum of work.

The Band's closest association with leisure spaces in Butte was with the Columbia Gardens park. The Meaderville Band played at the Gardens as early as 1888,

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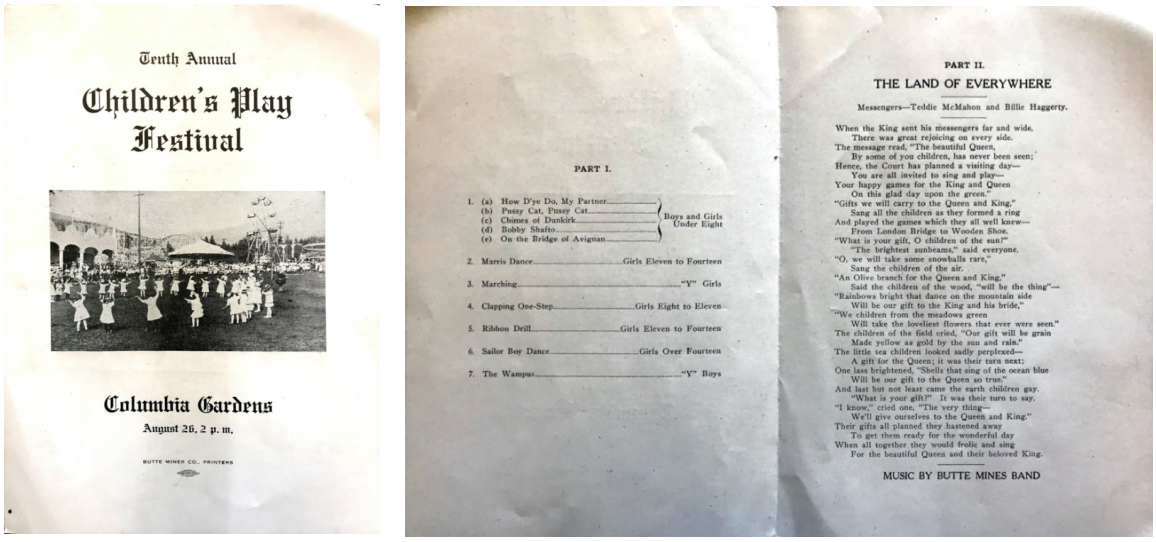
[324] *Butte Semi-Weekly Miner,* June 13, 1888, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-semi-weekly-miner-jun-13-1888-p-2/.; "Sam Treloar is Called by Death," *Montana Standard,* February 9, 1951, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-montana-standard-feb-09-1951-p-1/.

[325] "Odd Fellowship," *Butte Daily Miner*, April 22, 1888, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-miner-apr-22-1888-p-3/.

[326] B&M Band 1892 Engagements, Treasurer's Notebook, 1892-1913, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[327] B&M Band Treasurer's Notebook 1892-1913, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives; Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1927, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

when they performed for the Christopher Colombo Benevolent Society on September 16 to celebrate the 396th Anniversary of the "Discover(y) of America."[328] Engagements at the Gardens became more frequent throughout the 1890s.[329] Ownership of the Gardens changed in 1899, when copper king William Andrews Clark purchased the site and invested an estimated $100,000 in the park.[330] The Band established a relationship with Clark in the 1890s as well and continued to play the Gardens frequently.[331]



Tenth Annual

Children's Play Festival

Columbia Gardens

August 26, 2 p. m.

BUTTE MINER CO., PRINTERS

PART I.

1. (a) How D'ye Do, My Partner
   (b) Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat
   (c) Chimes of Dunkirk
   (d) Bobby Shafto
   (e) On the Bridge of Avignan
   — Boys and Girls Under Eight
2. Marris Dance — Girls Eleven to Fourteen
3. Marching — "Y" Girls
4. Clapping One-Step — Girls Eight to Eleven
5. Ribbon Drill — Girls Eleven to Fourteen
6. Sailor Boy Dance — Girls Over Fourteen
7. The Wampus — "Y" Boys

PART II.

THE LAND OF EVERYWHERE

Messengers—Teddie McMahon and Billie Haggerty.

When the King sent his messengers far and wide,
There was great rejoicing on every side.
The message read, "The beautiful Queen,
By some of you children, has never been seen;
Hence, the Court has planned a visiting day—
You are all invited to sing and play—
Your happy games for the King and Queen
On this glad day upon the green."
"Gifts we will carry to the Queen and King,"
Sang all the children as they formed a ring
And played the games which they all well knew—
From London Bridge to Wooden Shoe.
"What is your gift, O children of the sun?"
"The brightest sunbeams," said everyone.
"O, we will take some snowballs rare,"
Sang the children of the air.
"An Olive branch for the Queen and King,"
Said the children of the wood, "will be the thing"—
"Rainbows bright that dance on the mountain side
Will be our gift to the King and his bride,"
"We children from the meadows green
Will take the loveliest flowers that ever were seen."
The children of the field cried, "Our gift will be grain
Made yellow as gold by the sun and rain."
The little sea children looked sadly perplexed—
A gift for the Queen; it was their turn next;
One lass brightened, "Shells that sing of the ocean blue
Will be our gift to the Queen so true."
And last but not least came the earth children gay.
"What is your gift?" It was their turn to say.
"I know," cried one, "The very thing—
We'll give ourselves to the Queen and King."
Their gifts all planned they hastened away
To get them ready for the wonderful day
When all together they would frolic and sing
For the beautiful Queen and their beloved King.

MUSIC BY BUTTE MINES BAND

Figure 13 "Tenth Annual Children's Play Festival" Program, circa 1920, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

In 1902, the Mines Band played 20 engagements at the Gardens between March and September, nearly half of their performances for the year.[332] Their performances included

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[328] "Grand Picnic! Celebration of the 396th Anniversary of the Discovery of America," *Butte Daily Miner,* September 8, 1888, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-miner-sep-08-1888-p-2/.

[329] B&M Band Engagements, Treasurer's Notebook 1892-1913, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[330] Pat Kearney, *Butte's Pride – the Columbia Gardens* (Skyhigh Communications, 1994), 9.

[331] The Band played engagements for W.A. Clark and also deposited money in his bank. Clark was one of the mining benefactors of the band. B&M Band Engagements, Treasurer's Notebook 1892-1913, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[332] B&M Band 1902 Engagements, Treasurer's Notebook 1892-1913, 100, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

Miners' Union Day, Arbor Day, and evening dances at the Gardens' pavilion. Booking and transportation arrangements went through the Gardens' manager, J.R. Wharton, with whom this study began on the occasion of his daughter's death.[333]

As in the case of Jessie Wharton's death, the Band often sent condolences for funerals they did not work. Another example was upon the death of longtime B&M Band member Joseph Ivey's brother, John.[334] Their brother William Ivey wrote to the Band thanking them for a floral arrangement at John's funeral.[335] The Band also supported members who were ill or had suffered a recent loss. Meeting minutes for the Band's leadership reveal the creation of wellness committees to visit ill band members or send flowers, as when Treloar fell ill in January 1920.[336] One member's piccolo was destroyed, but the band raised funds to surprise him with a replacement.[337] The Band as a body was aware of the hardships of living in Butte and took care to provide for the community in ways that it could. For its own members this meant moral and financial support, and for the community it meant supplying music when asked or showing communal support when music was deemed in appropriate.

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[333] Anaconda Copper Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1915-1919, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[334] "Funeral Notice," *The Butte Inter Mountain*, December 2, 1902, NewspaperArchive.com, https://newspaperarchive.com/the-butte-inter-mountain-dec-02-1902-p-10/.

[335] William Ivey and Brothers to Boston and Montana Band, December 7, 1902, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[336] Butte Mines Band Meeting Minutes 1919-1922, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[337] Thomas Watters to the Boston and Montana Band, ca. 1901, Correspondence Files, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

Funeral work was not the Mines Band's most consistent work, though funerals were among the band's performances from its inception. The Meaderville Band played its first funeral on April 21, 1888.[338] The ceremony was for Abraham Winn, who had died while working in the Colusa Mine.[339] The band played at the union hall and then processed with the hearse, Miner's Union, and other mourners to the cemetery.[340] Funerals were a part of the Band's engagements schedule throughout the band's six decade tenure, with varying frequency.[341] A notable moment in the Band's funeral engagement schedule includes their nine funeral performances in 1918, when Butte was hit particularly hard by Influenza.[342] Most of the Band's funeral bookings were recorded in their engagements and financial logs, however newspaper announcements and correspondence that include funeral bookings not included in their attendance records suggest the Band may have played additional funerals gratis.

One such funeral was Edward Young's, an occasion that reveals the intimacy between mine work, union membership, musicianship, and mourning. As discussed in Chapter 2, Young was working in the Original Mine when his pickaxe stabbed him in the stomach while he attempted to evade a falling rock. His partner, Richard Hancock, was unable to get Young assistance in the moments between his injury and death.[343] Young's

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[338] "Funeral of Abraham Winn," *Butte Daily Miner*, April 21, 1888, https://newspaperarchive.com/butte-daily-miner-apr-21-1888-p-4/.

[339] "Funeral of Abraham Winn."

[340] "Funeral of Abraham Winn."

[341] Treasurer's Notebooks, Attendance Records, and Meeting Minutes of the Butte Mines Band, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[342] Attendance Roster 1918, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[343] Miners typically worked underground in pairs, and Hancock is noted as Young's partner in the article reporting his death. "Rolling Rock Kills a Man."

brother, Henry, was working at the 800-foot level that day, too. Henry came to Edward's side before the same elevator that brought men down into the mines every day carried the body to the surface.[344] Edward Young was 31 when he died. He was also a member of the Alice Band and the Knights of Pythias. He left behind a widow, Ettie Young, age 23.[345] George Pierce, the bandmaster for the Alice Band and president of the Musician's Mutual Protective Union, wrote a letter to the Boston and Montana band accepting their offer to play at Young's funeral.[346] Like the Boston and Montana Band, the Alice Band was a member band of the Musicians' Union, and likewise the Alice Band members belonged to the union. Following services at the International Order of Odd Fellow's Hall in Walkerville, a funereal parade including Young's bandmates from the Alice Band, carried their instruments but dressed in mourning, and the Boston and Montana Band providing the cadence for their march, proceeded to the Mount Moriah Cemetery. The Knights of Pythias followed the Alice band in the parade. Though newspaper articles detailing the death and funeral do not indicate if Young was a union member in his capacity as a miner, his fellow workmen were present at his funeral.[347] The Alice Band published their thanks to the B&M Band in the *Daily Inter Mountain*.[348]

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344 "Rolling Rock Kills a Man."

345 *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.*, vol. Walkerville, Silver Bow, Montana; Page: 18; Enumeration District: 0086; FHL microfilm: 1240914 (Washington, D.C.: United States of America Bureau of the Census, 1900), https://search.ancestryheritagequest.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1900usfedcen&indiv=try&h=44826481.

346 Geo. W. Pierce, "To Mr. Samuel H. Treloar and the Boston and Montana Band," June 28, 1900, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

347 "A Beautiful Tribute," *Butte Miner*, June 30, 1900, Newspapers.com, https://www.newspapers.com/image/348387906.

348 G.W. Pierce, "A Card of Thanks," *Daily Inter Mountain*, June 30, 1900, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85053057/1900-06-30/ed-1/seq-5/.

Young's death teaches much about funerals in Butte in 1900. Despite the frequency of death in Butte, mourners did not forgo ceremony. Journalism scholar Zena Beth McGlashan wrote about burial practices in Butte in her book, *Burials in Butte*, and in *Montana The Magazine of Western History.* McGlashan notes, "One of the reasons that undertaking was a profitable business in frontier towns was that people "tried to replicate as nearly as possible what they had left," and a proper funeral was one of those things."[349] Funereal practices in Butte assumed similar importance and format to their practice in the areas from which people migrated. Butte produced a funereal culture that refused to let death come quietly even in the face of frequent tragedy. In Young's case, this meant a sizeable parade with mourning colleagues and friends, two bands, and a fraternal order. Notable to the soundscape of such an occasion is both the performance of the B&M Band, though we do not know what they played, as well as the silence from the mourning members of the Alice Band.

There is much about Young's funeral that this study was unable to uncover. There is no explanation for why Young's funeral took place at the Odd Fellows' Hall instead of a church or the Knights of Pythias hall. The Knights of Pythias recognized Young in a mourning celebration for several members lost by July 1900 within a week of Young's funeral and may have provided some funds for Young's funeral. The Alice Band likely provided funds for the funeral or offered a small remittance to Ettie Young, if their practices were similar to the B&M Band. If Edward Young was a member of the Miners'

[349] McGlashan, "Caring for the Dead," 36.

Union or a similar association, his widow likely received benefits following her husband's death. Again, it appears that the B&M Band furnished music for Young's funeral gratis. At other funerals in 1900 the Mines Band charged $3.25 per man and $5.25 for the bandmaster.[350] While we do not know which songs the Band played, they likely chose from their selection of sacred music, which included "Nearer My God to Thee," and "Air, Celebrated Religioso," which may have offered a solemn hymnal soundtrack to the funeral.[351] Finally, the notices of Young's death and correspondence between the Alice and B&M Bands do not reveal if Ettie Young received any death benefits from the Original Mine, a W.A. Clark property. She would, however, have been eligible for a widows' pension, however. Kim Kohn's forthcoming work on the history of death and suicide in Butte will undoubtedly offer more insight into funereal practices in the city and suggest possible answers to the above questions.[352]

CONCLUSION

The Mines Band connects the workscape, playscape, soundscape, and deathscape of Butte. Professional musicianship in this case was a secondary form of income and directly tied to job security in mining, as well as prosperity in the industry. In the playscape, the Band offered a soundtrack. We might also imagine the men derived some pleasure from playing their instruments for themselves and for the community. Part of

[350] B&M Band Treasurer's Notebook 1892-1913, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives.

[351] Music List, ca. 1900, Sam Treloar Collection, Butte-Silver Bow Archives.

[352] Kim Kohn is an Archives Technician and Scheduler for the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives. She is completing her master's at Montana State University.

that service to the community was to offer a means to collectively celebrate and mourn the joys and sorrows of living, working, playing, and dying in Butte. While walking Butte does not offer revelations about the Band's sound, appearance, or impact, visiting the historic uptown and the cemeteries and the mines illuminates the efforts men undertook to maintain their work as miners, haul their instruments for rehearsals and engagements, and the distance traveled throughout uptown and out to the cemeteries with their fellow citizens of Butte.

The interconnectedness of the Mines Band to Butte's copper companies, social organizations, public spaces, and cultural practices is but one window into the tangled web of influence of capital, unions, and immigrant communities. These influences were practically inseparable, even mutually constitutive or at least reactive to one another. The Band shows how much of a paradox it is to try to sort Butte into being a company town or a union town. Ultimately, it was a mining town, with all the complications of immigration, industrialization, and urbanization. People took what they needed to from the copper companies, and the copper companies took more from the people. But Butte residents worked collectively to demand dignity and security in a city reliant on a volatile industry. In part, this came through union organizing, but it is also evident in the community's mourning of its lost sons and daughters.

Epliogue

The Butte Mines Band marks the confluence of mining, unionism, community, and culture. The men who made up the band connected the organization to their networks of families, societies, mining work, politics, celebration, and mourning. Their membership in multiple unions emphasizes how widespread collective bargaining was in Butte's culture. Samuel Treloar's establishing the Musicians' Union and maneuvering for funding from mining companies reveals the complex influences of corporate power and unionism in Butte. Even with all the Band's name changes–the Meaderville Band, the Boston and Montana Band, the Anaconda Copper Mines Band, and the Butte Mines Band–mining was always the identity they represented to their audiences, whether in a parade, at the Columbia Gardens, at a national political convention, or at a funeral.

This story might be much simpler if Butte was a true company town, where the Anaconda Company controlled every aspect of the city, or if it was a true union town, where workers held all the cards. The Butte Mines Band is one window into the complex set of relationships that formed Butte's identity as a mining city. But mining was always at the center, unavoidable in the physical landscape of the city, the workscapes, the playscapes, and the deathscapes of Butte. Butte's union core radiated from mining into other professions. The Mines Band was mostly made up of miner-musicians. The Columbia Gardens, while for everyone, were a product of mining riches and an antithesis to the hard, dirty, underground work that put Butte on the map. While the mines were not the only cause for death in Butte, they were a frequent one, with the very name for mining headframes–gallows–a constant reminder of life-threatening danger.

Studyscapes are a useful tool to wed environmental and cultural history in ways that interrogate extant histories. An environmental history of a musicians' group might

seem misguided, after all. But place-based study should not take place for granted. Studyscapes are a generative framework to thematically contextualize place and culture. Future work on Butte as it relates to the Mines Band and to Columbia Gardens can benefit from this framework by deepening understanding of interconnectedness in a city of close communities and corporate influence.

Place-based history is impossible without borrowing from other disciplines: it is sociological, ethnographic, anthropological, and geographic. This work, then, should take on the benefits of amateur history and social science methods that meet people and places where they are. Walking is one method of engaging with historical place. In this report, it allowed for a more intimate sense of place, a knowledge of the impact of elevation in a mile-high city, a familiarity with streets and mines and cemeteries and their proximity to one another. Place-based cultural history suggests there is something to be learned from a community of people in a particular place over time: if our goal is to contextualize those people and that place then we must meet them. The timeless defense of objectivity arises in the face of this suggestion, but the naïveté such defense suggests renders the history produced by "objective" academics distant and flawed.

A place like Butte is invested in its history because it is so influential in its present-day identity. The place-based historian owes the community it discusses dignity and legitimacy. Meeting communities where they are is not about appeasing them, but rather discovering why certain stories or parts of stories are dear and others are diminished. Communities may often be better storytellers than historians. Collective memory and myth may stretch or distort the "Truth," but cultural scholars concern themselves with why that is and how it makes stories richer.

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